JAN. 13, 1947

New Republic

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Churchill's Fantastic Crusade

Henry A. Wallace EDITOR

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short story contest

for war veterans now attending college

***New Republic** is holding a short-story writing contest for war veterans of both sexes now attending college under the GI Bill of Rights*

First Prize $500 — Second Prize $250

five additional prizes of $50 each

thirty additional prizes of a one-year subscription to the New Republic

In addition, all stories published will be paid for at the New Republic's regular rate.

The purpose of this contest is to help discover fresh, authentic voices among veterans of the recent war who are now attending colleges or other institutions of higher learning, with a classification at least as high as that of regularly enrolled freshmen. Graduate students of all types are included.

Stories or sketches may be on any subject, and any length up to 1,800 words. They should be submitted, typed on one side of the paper, with the name and address of the author included, to SHORT STORY CONTEST, the New Republic, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Manuscripts will not be returned. The New Republic will buy first serial rights only, for a period of two years, after which all rights will revert to the author.

The contest opened December 1, 1946, and closes January 31, 1947. Envelopes must bear a postmark not later than the latter date.

No proof of status is required at the time manuscript is submitted, but successful contestants must be prepared to prove that at the time of submission they were attending college under the GI Bill of Rights.

The editors of the New Republic will be the judges in the contest. The results will be announced, and the prize-winning stories published, as soon as practicable after January 31, 1947.

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CONTENTS FOR JANUARY 13, 1947

News in Focus	5	President's Message
	7	Robey Answers Nathan
	8	Old Guard Supreme
Washington Wire	11	Coöperating Like Hell
	12	Radio Censorship: by Bryce Oliver
General Articles	14	O'Dwyer's First Year: by Amos Landman
	18	Argentine Expansion: by William Mizelle
	19	The CIO in the South: by Ralph G. Martin
	26	Liberals Split: by Helen Fuller
	28	Monopoly Grows: by Ruth Moore
	30	Elsie the Golden Cow: by Thomas Whiteside
Henry Wallace's Forum	22	Churchill's Crusade
Cartoon	24	Budget Hints to the Eightieth Congress
United Nations News	33	Russia Compromises
Labor	34	Portal-to-Portal
Farm	35	Protect the Farm Coöps
Music	36	Roving Commission
Movies	37	Two from Overseas
Books	38	Decline of the West
	39	Grim Warning
	40	The American Home
	42	Civilized Man
Theatre	43	Timely Light
Etcetera	3	Letter of the Week
	44	Correspondence
		Bandwagon
	46	New Republic News

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1947, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y. UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SEVEN DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS; TEN WEEKS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

Letter of the Week

A Russian Sums It Up

Henry A. Wallace, Esq.
Sir:

It is time to get down to earth again. During the past few months the political atmosphere of the world has been so cluttered with fantastic projects, pronouncements and forecasts connected with the problems of peace and security that it would be as well to get back to sound common sense and recall a few simple but irrevocable facts.

First of all, what is our common aim?

It is both extremely simple and extremely complex. Our common aim is the institution of sound peace and reliable international security. . . .

How is this to be accomplished?

There is only one practical way: By the friendly coöperation of all peace-loving nations, and especially the unity of the five great powers—the US, the USSR, Britain, France and China. . . .

Is the unity of the great powers feasible?

The answer to this question depends on the goal which they set themselves. We can of course speak with full assurance only of the aims of the Soviet Union, and here we say quite firmly: the aims pursued by the USSR not only make unity among the great powers feasible but facilitate it in every way.

What is the Soviet Union really after?

In the US and Great Britain one often hears it said that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is a "riddle." What nonsense! The key to this riddle is a very simple one; it can be found by anybody who looks for it with an unprejudiced mind. The key is security. . . .

The profound interest which the Soviet Union displays in its own security is quite easy to understand. The USSR is the only socialist state in the world. In the early days of its existence, between 1917 and 1920, the Soviet Union was forced to wage a life-and-death struggle, first against Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany and then against in-

(*Continued on page 46*)

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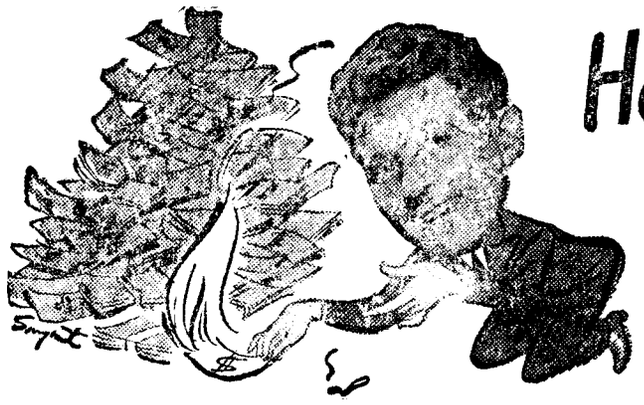

How to Avoid Saving Money

by DANNY KAYE

To avoid saving money, the first thing is to cut off all your pockets. (Or throw away your purse and keep your lipstick in your snood.) Thus you will have to carry your money in your hand. Which will insure that you—1. spend it, 2. lose it, 3. get it taken from you—*quicker!*

Also to be avoided like crazy are piggy banks and sugar bowls. Keep these out of your home! The kiddies in particular are victimized by such devices, often saving quite a bale of moolah. Be stern even if the little ones cry—remember what money could do for them! And be sure to avoid budgets. It is best to draw your pay and walk down Main Street buying anything you don't particularly hate.

Above all, don't buy any U. S. Savings Bonds —or it's *impossible* not to save money! These gilt-edged documents pay fat interest— 4 dollars for 3 after only 10 years! There is even an insidiously easy scheme called the Payroll Savings Plan by which you buy bonds *automatically*. Before you catch on, you have closets full of bonds. You may even find yourself embarrassed by a regular income! Get-gat-gittle!

Danny Kaye

SAVE THE EASY WAY...

BUY YOUR BONDS THROUGH PAYROLL SAVINGS

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New Republic

VOLUME 116, NUMBER 2, ISSUE 1676. NEW YORK CITY. JANUARY 13, 1947

News In Focus

Down the Middle

Congress

HARRY S. TRUMAN was acutely aware that Republicans outnumbered Democrats when the 80th Congress crowded into the historic and still unrefurbished House chamber to hear the President report on the state of the Union. As he pointed out, he was the twentieth President who, at some time during his term of office, had found his own party in the minority in one or both Houses. His own solution of the always uncomfortable situation was to walk down the middle as meticulously as a tightrope artist.

The tipoff was in what the President had to recommend on the ticklish subject of labor legislation. He had four proposals: (1) The early barring of jurisdictional strikes, of secondary boycotts when used to further jurisdictional strikes or "to compel employers to violate the National Labor Relations Act," and of the use of "economic force" to settle disputes over the interpretation of existing contracts. (2) Extension of the government's machinery for mediation and arbitration. (3) A broadened social-security program to remove some of the worker's worries. (4) The appointment of a temporary joint commission to inquire into the whole field of labor-management relations. The President specified that such a commission should inquire into methods of preventing strikes in vital industries, such as coal, into methods of averting other strikes and into the underlying causes of labor-management disputes. He called for a report by March 15.

Labor did not like the proposed bans. The Republicans did not think they went far enough. Truman's recommendations had hit somewhere around the center, perhaps a little to the right of it, but his program could not be considered "punitive."

In setting the economic course for 1947 the President used firm words to advocate the restriction of monopoly, and pointed with alarm to the growing concentration of economic power. His remedy was "vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws." Whether he would back the pledge with adequate funds for the anti-trust agencies and other support he did not say. The President talked of an "aggressive program of home construction," but his means for bringing it about seemed flabby to advocates of strong federal action to encourage housing. The President carefully avoided asking for adoption of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill by name, but called for adoption of some of its provisions on slum clearance, a single housing agency and aid to private building. On balancing the budget, Truman pointed out that he had already made stringent cuts and innocently asked the Republicans to coöperate in his program of economy.

On foreign affairs, Truman said basically that he would continue the present policies. In relations with the Soviet Union, he declared, the US would "seek only to uphold the principles of international justice which have been embodied into the charter of the United Nations." Specifically, he recommended recognition of the independence of Austria and early settlement of the future of Germany and Japan. The President also emphasized that the US "seeks no monopoly" of atomic energy.

Having thus set the course, the President concluded with a prayer, hopefully including his congressional audience: "Let us have the will and patience to do this job together."

Bilbo Filibuster

Congress

THE BILBO filibuster was born of a few hotheads in a back hallway of the Senate Office Building. Two hours before the Senate was to open, a small band of Southern rebels turned into Room 245. Twenty-two had been invited. Thirteen showed up, including senior statesmen Tom Connally (Tex.) and Walter George (Ga.), Dick Russell (Ga.), the unofficial Southern whip, and, surprisingly, Carl Hatch of New Mexico. The host was the fiery, squat Allen Ellender of Louisiana.

When the meeting was over, Ellender held a seminar for the press: "An effort will be made to have Bilbo sworn in without prejudice. We will do our best to show the Republican majority the light. There has been no talk of a filibuster, but we propose, if necessary, to spend a few days developing the law." His voice rose just short of a scream as he continued, "If the Republicans want to continue the fight and not see the light. . . . If they want to trample over the rights of Bilbo, this is nothing but rotten, putrid politics. . . . What's causin' all the trouble is the Republicans trying to capture the nigger vote. I mean nigger." Ellender subsided with a scowl.

When the two gold hands on the clock at the back of the Senate chamber met at 12, the galleries were jammed. Bilbo walked into the chamber to watch the scrap. After Baldwin of Connecticut had been sworn in, the clerk called out, "Theodore G. Bilbo." From the back of the Senate, Democrat Glenn Taylor, the handsome young Idaho cowboy, was on his feet shouting, "Mr. President, Mr. President." He presented his resolution —denying Bilbo his seat until all charges of fraudulent election and per-

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sonal corruption had been heard, and the Senate could vote on the evidence.

Taylor spoke gravely, "The people of each state have the right to choose their own representatives in Congress and it would be unwise for this body to set itself up as a self-righteous arbiter of the personality, politics or morals of men duly elected to office. I did not embark upon this policy lightly. . . . Intimidation and violence, however, cannot masquerade as free speech." Carefully, and for more than an hour, Taylor laid before the Senate all the accusations against Bilbo. He was followed by Louisiana's Overton, shouting, "They are trying to drag Bilbo out the door and lynch him."

In mid-afternoon, the Republicans maneuvered a test vote without forcing the issue of whether or not Bilbo should be seated. As the clerk read down the list and called, "Fulbright," the young Arkansas Senator called out, "Aye." It was the first Democratic defection. Nine others followed suit. The anti-Bilbo forces had won the preliminary, 38-20.

The filibuster began. The dry voice of Elmer Thomas (Okla.) drove the standees out of the gallery. Close to six o'clock, Senator Taft spoke sharply, "I favor a recess until tomorrow under the circumstances. But if by that time those who block the organization of the Senate continue to use the filibuster, I say the Senate should meet continuously until this is disposed of. The only thing to do is to see this through."

The tired men walked out into the foggy night. At noon the next day, the filibuster was on again. Carl Hatch had the floor. He brushed aside the charges against Bilbo as "wild rumor." The break came at five o'clock; Senate Secretary Les Biffle was called off the dais to transmit an ultimatum to the Southern Democrats. The Bilbo forces were beaten and Democratic leader Alben Barkley would no longer endure the filibuster.

After cloakroom conferences, Barkley offered a face-saving resolution to lay the Bilbo case on the table until The Man underwent an operation for cancer of the mouth, or until the Senate found a more propitious moment to act. Taft accepted for the victors. The Senate went on about its business, the new Senators were sworn in, the officers elected. Theodore Bilbo had left the chamber some time before. The chances were very slim that he would ever enter it again as a US Senator.

Clue?

Georgia

GOLDEN LAMAR HOWARD, 19-year-old Negro, was puttering around an ice plant one afternoon last week in Monroe, the Walton County seat near which two Negroes and their wives were brutally lynched last summer. Two men approached Howard and demanded that he tell them what he had spilled to a Federal Grand Jury recently convened in an unsuccessful attempt to identify the still unpunished members of the lynch mob. "Nothing," said Howard, "I didn't tell 'em nothing."

The two men cursed and, while one of them pointed a pistol at the boy's head, marched him into a cow stall in back of the ice plant. There they bashed Howard across the face, alternating blows with their fists and the pistol butt. Then they sent the bruised and battered Negro home.

Young Howard fled to Atlanta to tell his story to the FBI. He identified his two assailants as James and Tom Verner, the latter on Army leave from Fort Bragg. The two brothers were thereupon arraigned for federal trial and each freed on a $10,000 bond. A Walton County neighbor immediately put up the money for the pair.

Wagner Bill

Congress

SENATOR Robert F. Wagner of New York, in the midst of a congressional scramble to rewrite the rights of labor, has proposed a constructive approach to labor-management relations. Wagner favors an expansion of the existing US Conciliation Service into a stronger agency, with greater prestige, the better to assist management and labor in voluntary collective bargaining.

He points out that, despite the howl for repeal of the law which bears his name, less than four percent of time lost in important postwar strikes arose over union organization and recognition—the sole areas which the Wagner Act covers. The bulk of time was over disputes about wages, grievance machinery and working conditions. The result of a Wagner Act revision would be simply to weaken unions in debating these issues without solving them.

Wagner's bill would set up a three-man mediation board within the Department of Labor. The board would in turn establish regional groups, using special mediators and arbiters to help "responsible labor and industry" adjust their problems voluntarily, free of government dictation or economic strife. It would not weaken the Labor Department, as the GOP proposes, by detaching its conciliation function.

The proposal is not new; Senator Wagner advocated the bill in 1940, and it was wildly praised in the press then. It reflects today the considered judgment of such experienced labor conciliators as William H. Davis and William Leiserson. Whether it will receive the considered judgment of Congress is another matter.

Private Deal

Oil

A PRIVATE deal between US and British oil interests in the strategical Middle East has stirred up misgivings concerning its effect on international politics. In London last week the *Economist* noted that "other countries have some excuse for nervousness" over the announcement that the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum had agreed to purchase substantial supplies of crude from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

The Middle East has the world's second largest petroleum reserves, ranking next to the area from the Caribbean through Texas. The main oil-bearing countries are Iran, Iraq, Bahrein and Saudi Arabia. American companies own reserves in all of these except Iran, where the British have a controlling interest. Under the new agreement, the *Economist* warned, the threat has been raised of an "Anglo-Saxon corner on the world's oil."

Thus, the *Economist* continued, "oil politics become power politics. . . . Russians are thirsty for oil, and they may well think that they have as much right as the Americans and British to be in-

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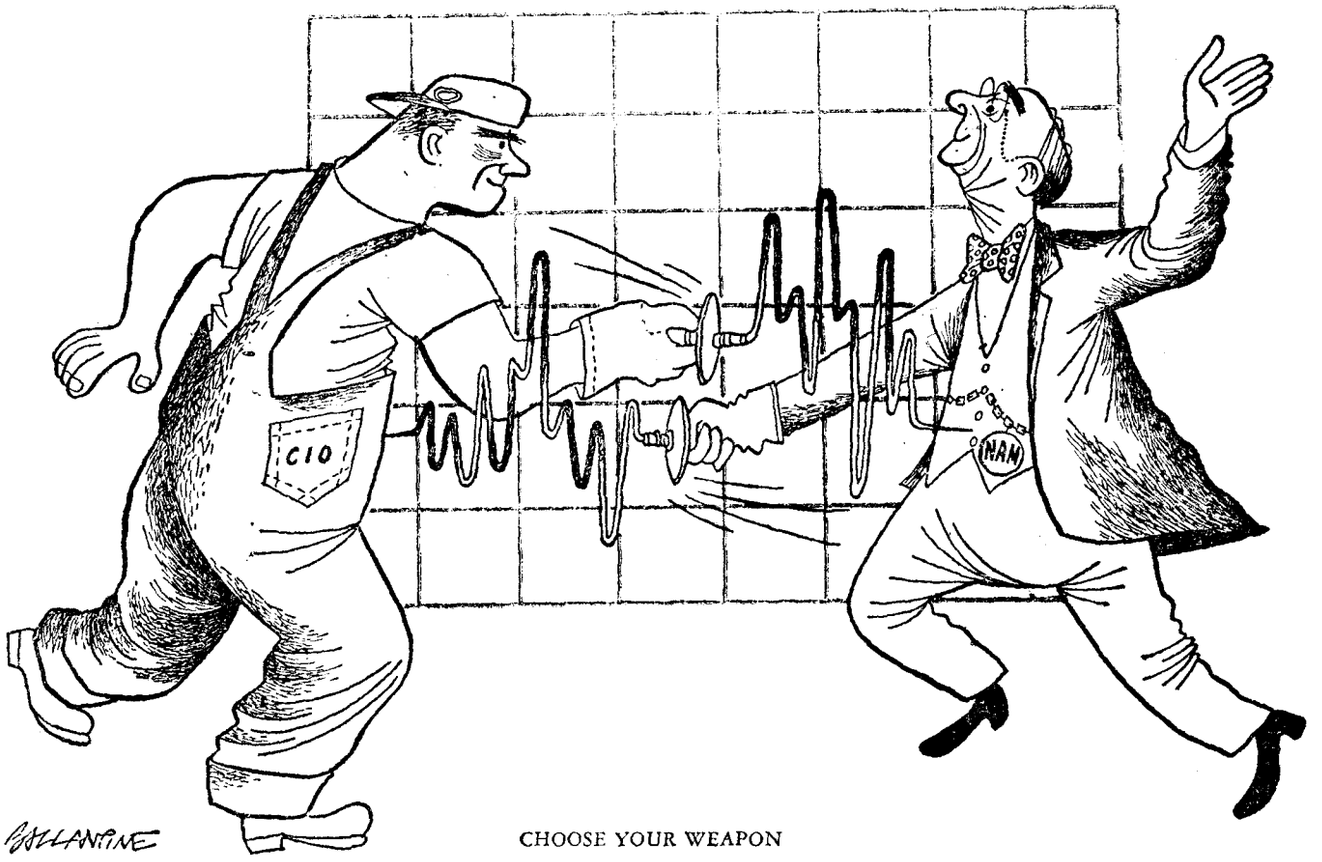

CHOOSE YOUR WEAPON

terested in rich supplies so much closer to their own borders."

Standard of New Jersey and Socony will also buy a 40-percent interest in the Arabian-American Company, owned jointly by Standard of California and the Texas Company and operating in Saudi Arabia and Bahrein. The purchasers have worldwide marketing outlets, but have not had sufficient crude oil to supply them. The British and US companies with which New Jersey Standard and Socony have now made agreements had more oil than markets and constituted potential competition. Less competition and more oil politics will be part of the price of these Middle East deals.

NAM Shindig

Labor

THE National Association of Manufacturers was not one to be outdone by the CIO. Two and a half weeks after the CIO had invited the Washington press corps to a sumptuous luncheon at the Hotel Statler to hear Economist Robert R. Nathan expound his findings that wages could and should be increased, the NAM threw a party of its own. The same newspapermen were invited to an equally glossy luncheon at the equally swank Hotel Carlton to hear Ralph Robey, the NAM's chief economist, explain why wages could not and should not be raised.

The 200-odd writers who attended both affairs drank CIO and NAM cocktails with the same relish. Impartially they compared the CIO's excellent roast beef to the flavorsome mixed English grill provided by the NAM. But their attitude toward the respective Nathan and Robey reports betrayed a difference. The questions fired at Nathan had been probing but only mildly critical. The bombardment of Robey was heavier and deadlier

Robey was in the midst of extolling "price control by the American housewife" when a reporter blandly interrupted, "Could consumer resistance crack the price of steel in 1947?" Robey's answer was somewhat hypothetical: If consumers refused to buy scarce automobiles, it would eventually force down the price of steel. "Isn't it a fact," another volunteered, "that during the period of price control by the American housewife [the last six months of 1946] prices went up 16 percent?" Robey let it pass. Someone asked what allowance the NAM's plan for freezing wages made for families in the lower-income bracket. Angered, Robey snapped back, "The same provision that has always been made by this country—the highest standard of living in the world."

The answer did not satisfy the newsmen. They kept pressing Robey to explain how the little fellow earning $45 a week (which Robey had said was the average wage in manufacturing) was to get along with prices at their present heights. Robey finally replied that he was not proposing to tie anyone down to $45. The thing for this little fellow to do was to go out and get more. Robey said he was all in favor of bargaining for more. Came the inevitable question: "Doesn't that place you in essential agreement with Mr. Nathan?" Robey snorted.

The tall, handsome NAM economist took the grilling in stride. Years of rubbing against flinty clients had worn the former West Virginia mine boy very smooth. For some time Robey had the triple job of economic columnist for *Newsweek*, professor of Economics at

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Columbia University and consultant for the NAM. He dropped the first two last spring for the higher title of vice-president and chief economist of the NAM.

A reporter for the New York *Post* tried to draw Robey out on how much he had been paid for his report. Robey had quoted *Time* magazine to emphasize that Nathan collected $12,000 from the CIO. Robey's comeback was, "Tell me what you are paid." The reporter quickly answered, "$146 a week." "I get much more than that—yes, much more," said Robey, and let it go at that.

Phase One

Atomic Energy

WITHOUT fanfare, in the presence of the members of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Secretary of War and Major General Leslie R. Groves, the President on the last day of the old year signed Executive Order 9816, transferring America's multi-billion-dollar atomic-energy empire from the Army's Manhattan District to the all-civilian group established by the McMahon-Douglas Atomic Energy Act. Thus, with a whimper rather than a bang, ended the first phase of the bitter struggle over future control of the domestic development of atomic energy.

Despite the outcome, many who fought for exclusive civilian control were convinced that the victory was neither final nor complete. A regrouping of the opposition forces was taking place in order to make another assault against such liberal features of the Act as its patent provisions and the government monopoly over production and ownership of fissionable material and atomic power. Sounding the approach of this new assault was a group of New England experts (including Karl T. Compton, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the Dewey and Almey Chemical Company's Bradley Dewey, president of the American Chemical Society). They had predicted the use of atomic power within five years, but warned that it would be necessary to give industry the "green light to proceed with its own development."

Another witness at the White House ceremony was 36-year-old Carroll L. Wilson, appointed only the day before to be the $15,000-a-year general manager of the commission. Wilson, who takes the place of General Groves as operating head of the atom project, was named on the recommendation of a special advisory panel headed by Compton which, according to presidential secretary Charles Ross, "had combed the country for six weeks" to find the best man for the job.

Acquaintances agreed that Wilson was an intelligent and earnest young man, with a flair for deferring to the wisdom and authority of the many great men of science, education and industry with whom he has had to deal in the past. In his new job Wilson will be the administrator of a project with 43,000 employees and gigantic plants and laboratories extending over 18 states. The social, political and economic problems of the atomic-energy business will be a long departure from a career spent mostly at MIT.

On Growing Old

H. L. Mencken, the sage of Baltimore, sold the rights to an old essay to a Canadian film company in exchange for two cases of ale to be delivered monthly for the rest of his life. The 66-year-old Mencken claimed the best of the bargain. "Perhaps they believed they wouldn't have to ship it to me much longer, but I'm out to fool them." George Bernard Shaw, the oracle of Britain, was less chipper in refusing to sign an appeal for Irish political prisoners. "It's a waste of your time and energy sending an appeal to an old man of 90. . . . Strike me off your active list as 'extinct'," wrote G.B.S.

Good Will

Pennsylvania

BEFORE 18-year-old Robert Johnstone was killed by the Japanese on Luzon, he asked his parents back home to do him a favor, just in case. They were to use his $10,000 government life insurance to promote better relations between the white and yellow races.

Last week Bob Johnstone's family announced that they had established a scholarship at Lafayette College, and had picked the first recipient. The Johnstone scholar would be Robert Y. Nishiyama of Tokyo, who had been in training as a Kamikaze pilot when the war ended. As soon as American authorities would permit, Nishiyama planned to enroll at Lafayette to study economics.

While the war was still on, the 22-year-old Japanese flier admitted, "I naturally wanted to kill as many Americans as possible." Now he was eager to do his "small bit toward establishing good will between our two countries."

Old Guard Supreme

Congress

AFTER a few feeble bleats, Republican opposition to Old Guard supremacy has faded away. Old Guardsman Bob Taft trumpets unchallenged as the lead elephant on Capitol Hill. Taft is not only chairman of the Republican Committee on Policy, but munches as well on another prize plum: head of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee. On the Senate floor Taft sometimes looks and acts like the stern headmaster of a boys' school. When Senator Wiley was stumbling around with an early motion on the Bilbo row, Taft bade him sit down. Wiley did.

A mild insurrection by GOP have-nots was firmly quashed. Weeks ago, Ken Wherry, the noisy salesman from Nebraska, and Oregon's Wayne Morse hotly said they would fight to the bitter end any attempt by Taft to become the new majority floor leader. Taft settled this by stepping neatly aside. He had not wanted the title anyway. Maine's gentle little Wallace White, who plaintively told a friend, "I don't know why they want me to be floor leader. I'm not mean enough," was substituted for that job. Upstarts Wherry and Morse promptly subsided.

New Year's week, as the Republicans were gathering to second the Taft de-

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cisions, Senator Charles M. Tobey of New Hampshire had his momentary fling of independence. He said crisply: "We fought this war against centralization of power and I object to centralization of power in the Republican Party, to which I have belonged for some time." A few hours later, when the GOP Steering Committee meeting broke up, the first man out was Wallace White. He was mobbed by reporters and photographers. He said shyly, "Taft is the man you want to see." When the Republican Senators, all 51 of them, met to thrash out the question of committee assignments, Clyde M. Reed of Kansas was grumbling loudly. He promised to question the procedure by which members of the top clique were grabbing two important jobs each. Nothing happened. The Old Guard selections were gaveled through.

The Old Guard line-up makes Taft the master of GOP strategy, Arthur Vandenberg president pro tem and chairman of Foreign Relations, and Eugene Millikin chairman of both the Republican Conference and Finance Committees. The Republican committee slate keeps all key assignments in the hands of men who will either follow Taft loyally or who are the same "moderate" conservatives.

The only serious revolt against the powerful handful who are now running the Senate was an attempt by Senators Reed and Owen Brewster (Me.) to capture the chairmanship of the Commerce Committee, dearest to the heart of big business, from majority leader White. White, friend of the shipping industry, won, but graciously picked both Brewster (sympathetic to certain air lines) and Reed (defender of the railroads against anti-trust action) to head subcommittees.

Agriculture is safe for the powerful American Farm Bureau Federation, with elderly Arthur Capper (Kans.) as chairman. C. Wayland ("Cutley") Brooks (Ill.), pride and joy of the Chicago *Tribune*, heads the Rules Committee. Chan Gurney (S. D.), who has a boyish awe of generals, is chairman of the merged Armed Services Committee. Aiken of Vermont, the one liberal among senior Republicans, was awarded the insignificant Expenditures Committee.

100-Percent Pegler

The Press

WESTBROOK PEGLER, in his salad days, once filled a New Year column swearing never more to mix his drinks. For 1947, however, Pegler pledged a different temperance. In Hearst papers across the land he began: "I am starting the New Year by sweeping out of my political and intellectual premises a lot of hypocritical postulates. Wait a minute while I drop that 'postulates' in the garbage and then the guy can take it over to the *New Republic*. . . . I ain't going to use that word. . . . It is jargon, like submarginal and sanction, for . . . a whole dialect of politico double-dome slang that the bleeding hearts have been using to confuse and bedevil us 'tater-hoeing, baby-having, home-loving, God-fearing, 100-percent Americans."

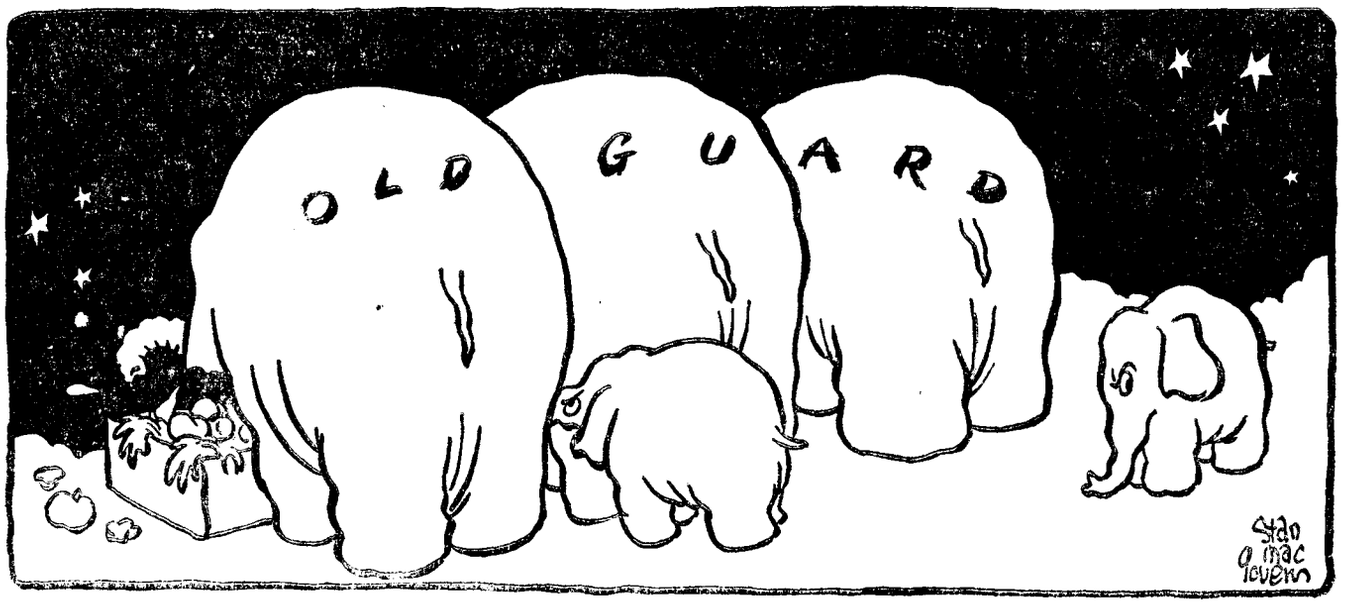
War Powers

The Administration

PRESIDENT TRUMAN ushered in the New Year by beating the Republicans to another punch. Before the GOP congressional majority could get their eager hands on the presidential war powers, Truman officially declared the "end of hostilities." It was not the "end of the war," but it was sufficient eventually to cancel out 51 wartime emergency laws and powers.

The government's power to seize strike-bound plants under the Smith-Connally Act was ended at once. All plants and mines under seizure must be returned to the owners by June 30.

The wartime excise taxes on liquor, amusements, furs and other luxuries will be dropped to their prewar levels on July 1. Merchants at once appealed to Congress to reduce them sooner. They complained that no one will buy in the meantime. When the taxes go, the Treasury will lose at the rate of $1.5 billion a year.



NOT ENOUGH TO GO AROUND

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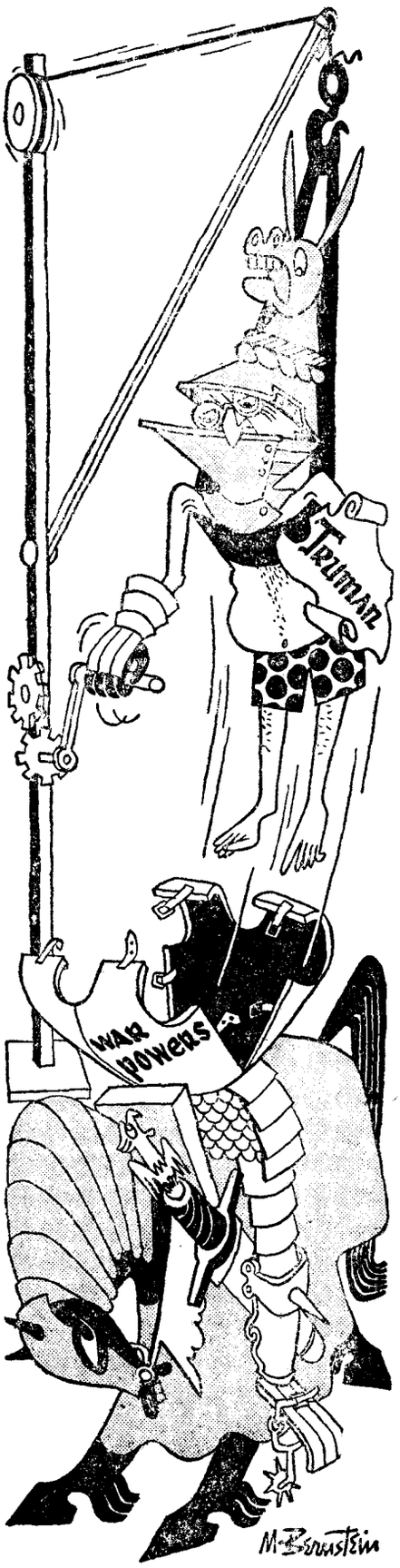

ALL BY HIMSELF

Farm prices will be supported at 90 percent of parity only through 1947 and 1948. If the President had waited until after the turn of the year to act, the law would have tied up the government to support farm prices through 1949. The extended statute of limitation covering Pearl Harbor will expire June 30. This will block the prosecution of anyone found guilty after that date. Among the minor restrictions which went by the board was one permitting the tax-free shipment of cigarettes and tobacco to troops overseas.

Republicans were more than a little piqued at losing the drop. However, they still will have a turn. Several hundred powers which remain on the books cannot be terminated until Congress proclaims the end of the war and of the two states of emergency ordered before Pearl Harbor.

Brighter Year

Moscow

FOR the first time since Stalin's assurance in the mid-thirties that life in the Soviet Union would grow better and brighter the Russian people are buoyant with hopes of easier times. If the government expects people to work harder and more productively during 1947, it is also striving to make the conditions of living more congenial.

On the eve of the New Year the Soviet government made known its decision to promote the manufacture of consumers' goods, including increases of nearly 50 percent over 1946 in cotton textiles, footwear and knit goods. Light Industry Minister Sergei Lukin is doubling the capital investment for 1947 in enterprises within his jurisdiction. The highest priorities will be given clothing and household goods.

The general tone of New Year editorial comment on 1946 achievements indicated that the vigorously conducted campaign against production inefficiency during the year's second half was not without result. Particular satisfaction was expressed that the Don Basin as a whole achieved a coal quota set a little above half the prewar output. Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, Stalino were among the manufacturing cities which punctually fulfilled production schedules.

A noteworthy feature of 1946 production returns was the increased share contributed by factories located in liberated areas. The results completely disposed of reports occasionally circulated abroad that the USSR is abandoning the ruined west and is concentrating on the Trans-Ural regions. The reports were probably based on observation of the fact that few of the plants evacuated eastward during the war have been returned. However, a Moscow newspaper reported last week that most of the factories located in the Moscow area whose equipment had been shifted during the war have been reëquipped with new machine tools.

In this respect it is remarkable that the two industrial achievements most warmly acclaimed over New Year's took place on liberated territory. The completion of the Dnieper Dam now awaits only a suitable water level for the first of nine 100,000-kilowatt turbines to be set humming. Europe's largest blooming mill, at the Kirov steel works in the Donbass, has also been repaired. Only last fall the mill was in an indescribable state of chaos.

"I Am a Soldier"

Politics

SMOKED OUT by a story in the Washington *Times-Herald*, General Dwight D. Eisenhower twice denied that he entertained presidential aspirations. The capital paper had reported an alleged remark by General Ike that he might accept the nomination "if the people of the country want me to run." In Florida (undergoing treatment for bursitis) Eisenhower first replied: "I never said anything of the kind. A man with no party affiliation could not even discuss running for President. . . ." On second thought, Eisenhower held a press conference, to add: "From the beginning of the war whenever there was mentioned the possibility of a future political career for me I have instantly refused to consider such a contingency. . . . Mention of my name with politics is not good for the great organization I command. I am a soldier, and it is my duty to command the Army. The Army is definitely nonpartisan and national in character. . . ."

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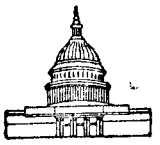
Washington Wire



Coöperating Like Hell

WELL, it's happened. American conservatism is formalized in a Republican Congress. America moves to the Right as the rest of the world moves Left. Already there are portents: plans for a millionaires' tax cut, proposals to curb labor, pressure to boost tariffs. As the world aches for leadership, the embarrassed United States, by a constitutional quirk, splits its government between rival parties—White House to Democrats, Congress to Republicans. For the next two years the American Eagle, like the Hapsburg bird, wears two heads.

Will Truman coöperate with Congress? Certainly—in a sense. He will zestfully dump responsibilities into Congress' lap. The process has started. Truman and his friends know what they are doing. The GOP has the responsibility now. Oh yes, the President will stand ready to aid. He has new self-confidence and looks for lightened burdens. "We're going to coöperate the hell out of Congress!" is the genial comment of one high Democrat.

It has an odd ring. Maybe it will all work out. We'll see. Europeans are frankly worried. Is the erratic American democracy, with its tariffs and booms and busts, something they can tie to, or must they look to Moscow? As we glanced down on the noisy Senate opening we felt a queer mood of suspense.

The big, square Senate chamber was jammed. The air was electric. Rear standees in the restless crowd shifted from foot to foot. As the clock neared noon there was disorder at one gallery door where fashionably dressed women pushed cops. "Is he there yet?" everybody asked. In all the big crowd we could see only two Negroes, though the 13 million of their race were primarily affected. And then suddenly, through the upper glass windows of the swinging lobby doors came quick flashes that sent shadows racing all over the chamber. Someone was being photographed. And then paunchy little Bilbo entered, in a brown suit and red tie. The silent flashes were like those thrown against the August sky. There was something ominous about them.

THE WORLD should know pretty soon now how America stands on tariffs. Probably most Americans would like to see tariffs kept reasonably low, in a good-neighbor policy. But then, most Americans didn't want inflation controls eliminated last June, or veterans' housing sabotaged last fall. This Monday (January 13) the State Department starts public hearings on new reciprocal-trade agreements, as a preliminary to the 18-nation tariff conference scheduled for Geneva in April. How will the victorious Republicans react?

Well, the Hull Tariff Act, turning control over from Congress to the Executive, was passed against violent GOP opposition. Republicans opposed the four subsequent extensions. The Act expires next year (unless previously renewed). Under it the Executive can cut existing tariffs as much as 50 percent. Through its use the Hawley-Smoot Chinese tariff wall has been lowered about 30 percent, but it is still dangerously high.

If America tries to sell abroad, but not buy, the whole world is thrown out of balance. Last year we exported $14 billion of goods and services, took only $7 million in return. That imbalance just can't go on. Tariff barriers should be cut now, not raised.

Yet powerful GOP groups are already out gunning for the Hull Act. House Republicans in the last Congress voted 140 to 33 against extending it; Senate Republicans opposed it, too. Taft, White, Millikin, Wherry—the new GOP Senate leaders—all opposed it; in the House so did Martin, Halleck and Knutson. Probably no other issue rouses so much European interest; on no other issue will America's postwar willingness to coöperate be so watchfully appraised. GOP strategy is to block new tariff agreements for six months (that kills the Geneva meeting) and then take the tariff power away from the President, back into Congress. Then the old log-rolling can start again.

IT'S NICE to report that a couple of important new fiscal reforms have been added to our government. Under the LaFollette-Monroney Act Congress for the first time in history now prepares a "legislative budget." Simultaneously, the Employment Act of 1946 requires the President to send up his first annual message to Congress on long-range economic problems, which Congress must receive, analyze and presumably act upon.

Down to the present the committees in Congress dealing with taxes and spending have operated in separate air-tight compartments. Now, once a year, they must get together and take an overall picture of government finances. Also provided is a ceiling on expenditures, which ought to make congressmen a lot more responsible in their spending. The President's message on the economic state of the Union doesn't immediately set up a system of advance planning, but it clears the way for something of that sort sooner or later.

THE ADMINISTRATION is deeply anxious about declining farm prices, with the possibility of a congressionally made crisis ahead. If prices drop below a certain point, the government is pledged to a big price-support program. What makes the situation potentially embarrassing is that Congress has given no equivalent power to limit the size of crops. Ironically enough, while the rest of the world is hungry, the prospect of continued unprecedented bumper crops here, with their price supported by the government, causes growing concern.

Washington T. R. B.

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Thought Control—American Style

by Bryce Oliver

To protect our minds and their pocketbooks, networks are dropping liberal commentators from coast to coast

SOME PEOPLE along radio row are saying that the news commentator is on the way out. But what is taking place at this moment is that the liberal commentator—as against the one with a conservative slant—is being pushed out. In the last year more than two dozen broadcasters—all Left of Center—have been dropped or had their air time slashed. Among them are Orson Welles, Henry Morgenthau, John W. Vandercook, Robert St. John, Sam Balter, Hans Jacob, Don Hollenbeck, William S. Gailmor, John B. Hughes, Don Goddard, Peter DeLima, James Roosevelt, Sidney Walton and Fiorello H. LaGuardia. Within the last few weeks Dr. Frank Kingdon, chairman of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, and Johannes Steel, author and ex-congressional candidate, have also left the daily air waves—under pressure.

The networks have been growing more and more worried about "opinion" on their air. They seem to feel that their safest course is to put on routine newscasters who will stick closely to the standardized version of the day's news as it unwinds from the news-bureau teletypes. Networks want to avoid "trouble"—especially with their customers. After all, many radio executives argue, they are in business not in order to present ideas, but chiefly just to provide entertainment.

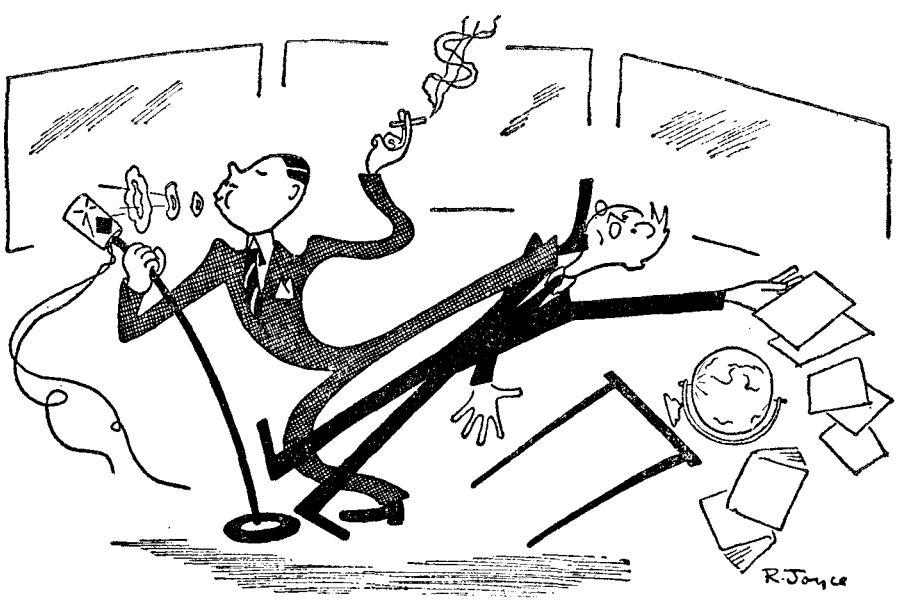
But radio's resistance to ideas seems mainly opposition to liberal ideas. Pressure to "tone down" news which is sympathetic to organized labor and to Russia has increased rapidly in the last few months.

One New York commentator last month suddenly found himself the object of a barrage of criticism and vilification by unidentified people who threatened to use their influence with his sponsor to force him off the air. The commentator was obliged to spend an entire 15-minute broadcast outlining his personal, political and economic philosophies in order to convince his sponsor and his critics that he really was not a Communist. This was not quite what the pressure group wanted. They called for an outright, clear-cut attack on the Soviet Union as proof that the analyst was also not anti-Catholic. However, the broadcaster presumably succeeded in justifying himself, since his contract was extended for an additional 13 weeks.

The sharpest pressure is exerted on commentators who are most outspoken on such touchy subjects as the Vatican v. the Soviet Union, Anglo-American bundling in full view of the United Nations, clericalism in politics, anti-Semitism, business monopoly v. New Dealism, the future of the atom bomb, and dollar diplomacy. And the chief concern of US liberals is the absence of militant voices raised to counter this pressure from the Right.

Vandercook and Kingdon

JOHN W. VANDERCOOK, one of radio's top reporters, sponsored by Alka-Seltzer and formerly heard over a nationwide NBC network, claims that the death of Franklin Roosevelt precipitated the mass firings. "I was in Luxembourg the day Roosevelt died," Vandercook recently remarked to a friend, "and I told myself then: 'John, it won't be long now.' But it came gradually. Complaints and criticism of my scripts began to pile up. One day I added them all together and found an interesting pattern. I seemed to invite



Bryce Oliver has been a foreign correspondent, radio commentator and the co-author of What the South Americans Think of Us. *He was recently defeated for Congress by Mrs. Katherine St. George in the 29th District in New York.*

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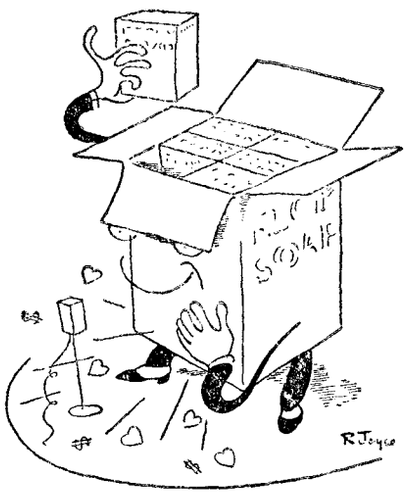


trouble whenever I said certain things about Marshal Pétain, Hirohito, Franco and similar people and institutions."

But reasons for the removals from the air have been varied and cannot usually be pinned down to one specific cause. The recent dropping of Dr. Frank Kingdon, a New York area newscaster, shows the complexity of forces at work. In 1945 Kingdon looked like the commentator most likely to succeed. He had achieved a remarkable success despite the fact that he was sponsored on a very late spot on WMCA, an independent New York station. He was confronted with top-drawer competition from the key stations of the NBC, CBS and Mutual networks. But his stand as a hard-hitting, pro-labor internationalist made him highly popular throughout the New York area. When Winchell took a vacation he asked Kingdon to fill in for him. Then Kingdon's sponsor, in order to get a larger audience for its star, switched him to WOR, key station of Mutual.

No News Is Good News

RECENTLY Kingdon's sponsor decided that his 6 p.m. time did not reach the biggest possible audience and asked Mutual for a better spot. Mutual couldn't produce a new time, and the sponsor, after an effort to place Kingdon elsewhere, decided to drop the contract. Mutual today refuses to carry Kingdon on a sustaining basis, claiming that he, unsponsored, brings the network no income. It does not seem to see the need for presenting a liberal speaker in order to balance the right-wing Upton Close, who has been sponsored by a group closely allied to isolationism.

The firings of some radio reporters like Sam Balter, Peter DeLima, John Hughes and Bill Pennell, all of California, can be traced to sponsors' giving way to pressure from reactionary business interests. But most removals have been brought about by the networks themselves. The outspoken liberal commentator, Robert St. John, for instance, has been unable to find a radio spot even though he has offered to come forth with a sponsor ready to buy the time.

The fear of broadcasting disturbing news and comment has caused some radio executives to wonder if it would not be best to avoid altogether the use of ranking, experienced journalists to handle the news. They find that seasoned newsmen do not seem to have the proper regard for the business interests of radio and seem to think that the "news" is not necessarily a "show." And so they have experimented with the idea of broadcasting emasculated information through ordinary station announcers who have never been near a city room. Some experiments along this line have convinced many radio executives that, after all, the public does not know whether it is listening to a trained observer or an announcer who reads whatever is handed him. They say it's the "authority in the voice" that counts.

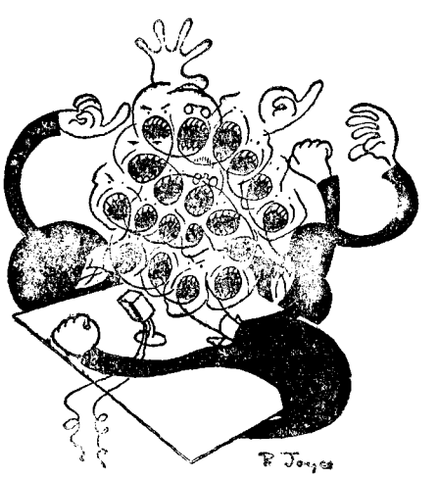
Reaction or Irresponsibility?

SOME observers believe they see a concerted reactionary drive behind the purge of liberals from the air. Others see chiefly a wave of irresponsibility in the radio industry, in which the networks' brave wartime intentions to enlighten the public and offer adult viewpoints have been succeeded by a return to old-time commercialism of the most blatant sort. Whatever the main cause may be, the result adds up to the same thing, namely the increasing refusal of the networks to give adequate room to anything but stand-pat interpretation of the news.

Listeners who have become fed up with the increasing sameness of radio fare have exhausted a great deal of energy attacking sponsors for the forms that radio commercialism takes. This hasn't brought any results. Listeners have also turned their attack upon the networks themselves; but this hasn't brought many results either. But recently dissident groups have been paying more attention to the radio station's most vulnerable spot—its license to operate, which must, by law, be renewed every three years. Power to grant or deny operating licenses to every radio station in the United States lies with the Federal Communications Commission. And thus the three organizations that protested WOR's refusal to carry Kingdon directed their criticism at the FCC rather than at WOR.

A Job for the FCC

THE FCC is designed to supervise the contents of all radio broadcasts operating in the US. The agency is empowered to grant licenses on the basis of "public interest, convenience and necessity." The Commission has further taken it upon itself to define "public interest" and to set standards which it feels broadcasters should follow. In recent reports the FCC has expressed its pain at the overwhelming proportion of low-quality material that goes out over the air, but it hasn't done anything about it. It has made no attempt to ensure that a commentator who talks liberalism gets as good a deal on the air as a commentator who talks conservatism. The Commission has the power to see that this is done. But it will not exert that power unless the people so demand.



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The First Year Is the Toughest

by Amos Landman

After a rough twelve months in office the Mayor of the world's largest city finds his sea legs and settles down

IN THE EYES of people who should know, the job of mayor of the City of New York is the nation's biggest and most complex, second only to the presidency itself. The man who runs the country's biggest city automatically becomes a national figure—and the man who is running it now is also a leader in the Democratic Party councils, able to exert a powerful influence on the greatest single mass of urban voters in America. He has been running the city for just over a year now.

When William O'Dwyer became New York City's 104th mayor, many citizens, probably even some who voted for him, looked to the future with disquiet. At best, some thought, ineptitude would return to City Hall. At worst, the hand of the Tammany boodler would be back in the public till.

Minds turned back to the corruption of the Walker administration, and its light-hearted, heavy-drinking leader, the late James J. Walker, who quit when the charges against him piled too high. It was Walker who, when asked by a reporter if it were true that he had been keeping company with Betty Compton, replied: "Is it true? Where the hell have you been?"

Others recalled the bumbling John O'Brien, F. H. LaGuardia's immediate predecessor. While reading a speech someone had written for him—evidently for the first time—he laughed so hard at a joke that his glasses fell off and smashed. An associate had to finish the speech for him. When O'Brien was asked whom he was going to appoint police commissioner, he responded, "I don't know. They haven't told me."

Fresh from three years in the army and a three-cornered election fight marked by energetic, indiscriminate mud-slinging, O'Dwyer was sworn in, just after the last New Year began, at his temporary home in Belle Harbor. He chose this place so his wife, an invalid for 15 years, could be present.

O'Dwyer faced the two major problems which confronted many of the cities and states in the postwar US: New York City's physical plant was in wretched condition and its human plant was sadly debilitated.

Virtually all maintenance work had come to a halt during the war years. The subway system was run down, no schools had been built since 1940, LaGuardia Field was settling into Flushing Bay, and there was a desperate need for more health centers and kindred social services.

"I found that none of the hospitals had been painted for five years," he told the writer last week, "and some of them hadn't been painted for nearly 15 years. We had to find almost a million dollars to do the job. The least we could do for the poor people who are patients in our hospitals was to give them a clean, cheerful place in which to recover from their ills."

The second over-all problem was that the war had depleted city departments, and poor pay in the face of what the Mayor likes to call "spiraling inflation" kept them that way. Civil-service personnel was leaving the city as fast as it was being hired. The police department was several thousand men short. The three-platoon system in the fire department, though required by law, was not in effect. There was one nurse for every 52 patients in the hospitals.

In addition to these general problems, there were vexing transit and airport difficulties. Four months before O'Dwyer took office, LaGuardia appointed Major General Charles P. Gross, hard-boiled professional soldier, as chairman of the Board of Transportation. This undiplomatic military man was called upon to handle the delicate labor relations of a department in which they had been notoriously poor since 1940, when the city acquired the privately owned transit properties.

As to the airport, during his last month in office, LaGuardia let a number of contracts for work on Idlewild, a huge field under construction on the shore of Jamaica Bay, in the hope of committing the city irrevocably to its completion. Had these contracts been left standing, they would have used up all the city's available funds for new construction, at the expense of schools and social services which the citizenry needs more than a grand new airport.

Finally, the Mayor was limited by his own inexperience. He had little knowledge of municipal government. During the war, he had been unable to keep abreast of local developments. Yet he had picked for himself the job of running the biggest city in the country, a city which spends twice as much in one year to keep itself going as the entire state.

No Spoils System

UNLIKE President Truman, who ditched the New Deal advisers he inherited from Franklin Roosevelt, O'Dwyer retained a number of his predecessor's key commissioners. This was a move to assure the public that Tam-

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many and the spoils system had not returned to City Hall.

At the same time, he made Park Commissioner Robert Moses the most influential figure in his administration. In Moses he saw an able and honest administrator with the experience in municipal government which O'Dwyer himself lacked, and a man who was clearly no venal machine politician. That Moses was a Republican, with the usual Republican lack of social-mindedness, he either overlooked or felt was outweighed by his virtues.

Early Blunders

IT TOOK much of the Mayor's first year in office for him to learn the ropes. He moved slowly, trying to get all the facts before acting. But he made some blunders.

The first major labor dispute of his term, the February tugboat strike, found the city short of fuel oil at a time when the weather forecast was for zero temperatures. O'Dwyer closed down the city, but was panicked into rescinding this order by the public clamor. At no time did he give any clear-cut explanation for his actions.

He appointed George A. Timone, who had lent his name to Christian Front meetings, to the Board of Education. The newspaper *PM* reported that he got Timone's name from a list submitted to the Mayor by the Catholic Church.

He agreed to a Moses proposal to ask the state legislature to create a New York City Airport Authority. This body is potentially such a handout to Wall Street that even a majority of the upstate Republican state senators rejected it until their floor leader got three of them to switch their votes. The Authority bonds would have given the bankers a juicy return in the form of an unduly high interest rate.

He also accepted Moses' tax program, a model of Republicanism because it places the burden of taxation on those least able to afford it. The keystone of this program was the doubling of the sales tax to two percent. After Republican Governor Dewey had refused to help the city meet its financial obligations by giving it a larger share of either the state surplus or its current income, O'Dwyer felt that he had no choice but to accept Republican Moses' tax schemes. Dewey was willing. He pushed through legislation enabling the city to raise the sales tax. Ever mindful of political advantage, he was then in the position of lowering state taxes while the Democrats were raising city taxes. What O'Dwyer could have done instead was raise the real-estate tax, which falls on those who can more easily afford it.

As he acquired a better understanding of his office, O'Dwyer began to move more surely and independently. Instead of being a slave to the Democratic bosses, he began giving them orders. By withholding patronage from Tammany, he stripped some of its less savory leaders of their powers. He is now using his position to force reforms in the organization. He helped install the most able candidate as Brooklyn Democratic leader, keeping out several questionable aspirants. As chairman of the Democratic State Convention last September, his keynote speech had a definite New Deal ring. He was top man at this convention.

Shortly before his death, Franklin Roosevelt asked O'Dwyer to weld the progressive forces in New York behind a New Deal program. He has a splendid opportunity to do so, but as yet has not acted as vigorously as one might wish. He has shown his liberalism, however, by his strong support of the OPA, of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill and of determined federal action against the beef trust during the meat crisis. He has maintained cordial relations with the Liberal Party, which opposed his election, and the American Labor Party.

Number-One Democrat

BY VIRTUE of his office and his record, O'Dwyer emerges as the leading progressive Democratic office-holder not associated with the federal government. This he achieved, in part, by default. While his Democratic colleagues were taking a drubbing at the polls in November, O'Dwyer was resting in California, on doctor's orders. His only contribution to the campaign was an announcement that he had voted by absentee ballot for the Democratic slate, including Vito Marcantonio—an announcement which the press generally ignored. His inactivity brought him censure from his own party and from liberals. There is no question that he was physically run down and badly broken up by the death of his wife in October. But his rest in California did not preclude a strong statement or two in behalf of the Mead-Lehman ticket.

As he became more familiar with his job, O'Dwyer leaned less and less on the conservative Moses. It may be that the Mayor had always intended to use Moses as a crutch during those early, uncertain days, and not as a permanent, indispensable brace. Several pet Moses projects have been sidetracked by the Mayor, including his Airport Authority and his bus-terminal ideas. His most recent defeat concerned the 1947 capital budget. More than $20 million worth of highways, parks and similar improvements favored by the park commissioner were knocked out of the budget to make way for schools, libraries, hospitals and health centers. This budget is the Mayor's start, and a good one, toward rehabilitating the city's run-down plant.

Dealing with Labor

O'DWYER'S handling of labor problems has slowly matured. Following his scared-rabbit behavior in the tugboat strike, he settled an early transit crisis by appointing a distinguished committee headed by Arthur S. Meyer to study the problems of the transit workers and make recommendations. He helped bring an end to the Hudson Tubes strike by putting pressure on a recalcitrant management.

In the September truck strike, the Mayor, after some fumbling, finally recognized that a grocery chain's offer for settlement was fair and sound. But it took him quite a while to realize that the truckmen's associations, and not a rank-and-file group which he labeled Communist, were the villains of the piece.

Out of this labor experience, particularly out of the truck strike, grew the Division of Labor Relations, created by

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the Mayor. This body found a simple formula which might well be studied by national and state mediation agencies. It discovered that, as a general rule, there was little negotiation prior to the expiration date of a collective agreement. Often there was only one meeting at which nothing was accomplished. The contract thereupon expired and the employees were on the picket line before any real attempt had been made to bring the parties together.

The Division of Labor Relations now goes to work 30 days before the expiration date and tries to get the parties to initiate genuine collective bargaining. It sometimes appoints a committee of citizens to aid in bringing about a settlement. This method, during the first couple of months it was tried, averted six serious tie-ups in which strike dates had been set, including a Western Union strike and a Manhattan bus strike. Its success is of more than local importance, inasmuch as walkouts like those of the tugboat workers and the truck drivers, by tying up the commerce of the world's largest port, have a national and sometimes international effect.

City Workers Benefit

HE HAS done well in handling municipal workers. He granted some $40 million in raises to teachers, transit workers, and certain others, then appointed a committee to study the needs of other city employees. The committee held hearings and gave respectful attention to representatives of every union or association which wished to be heard.

What's more, O'Dwyer acted on his committee's recommendations granting an additional $32 million in increases just before Christmas. He was actuated by a belief that during a time of inflation the benefits of civil-service status are doubtful and workers have a moral right to increases. His behavior was a rare spectacle in governmental affairs—municipal, state or federal.

His program brought results: the dangerous shortage of nurses in city hospitals was relieved when O'Dwyer instituted the 40-hour week and raised pay. A similar shortage of policemen was ended by the appointment of 1,000 probationary patrolmen. Five hundred new firemen were sworn in on December 30.

While these raises are a godsend to those who received them, they do not represent the millennium. Teachers, for instance, are still grossly underpaid. This is a responsibility of Governor Dewey, who has closed his eyes—and his bulging coffers—to the Board of Education's needs.

The Transit Crisis

IN THE transit situation, the Mayor's record is less spectacular. The Meyer Advisory Committee, which he appointed, spent eight months studying transit conditions. It recommended increases of $18.5 million and a system of regularized collective-bargaining machinery. The Mayor approved the wage findings and saw to it that they were granted. But he disapproved the collective-bargaining proposals. He passed them along without comment to the Board of Transportation, an autonomous body which was free to accept or reject them. It promptly did the latter. As a result the Mayor may find another transit crisis on his hands soon.

There is one hopeful element, however, which may bring an end to the recurrent strike threats on the transit system, of which there have been six since 1940. That element is William H. Davis, the able former head of the War Labor Board, whom O'Dwyer succeeded in inducing to accept an appointment to the Board of Transportation. It was unquestionably the best appointment he has made. Davis, at the Mayor's request, is working out a labor policy for the system, and for other city departments and agencies as well. It is reported that he is finding an acceptable formula.

O'Dwyer's most conspicuous failure, which he freely admitted to the writer last week, has been in the field of housing. He attributes the failure to the shortage of building materials. "You can't build houses with matchboxes," he says. Funds are available for public housing but can't be translated into buildings for lack of structural steel, plumbing fixtures, and the like. O'Dwyer cannot be held responsible for the federal government's failure to shake loose construction materials for housing.

Active Tolerance

ENCOURAGING qualities in the Mayor are his hatred of bigotry, his determination to serve the city and his humility.

When someone suggested to him that the way to handle a "crime wave," real or fancied, in Harlem, was to send more billy-swinging cops there, he replied with feeling that the solution lay in better economic opportunity and housing for Negroes.

He served as honorary chairman of a fund-raising and protest meeting for Isaac Woodward, the Negro veteran whose eyes were gouged out by a Southern cop.

"It's a mistake to call it a Negro problem," he told me. "It's a white problem. We made it. They didn't. A partial solution lies in the schools. When adults are bigoted, it's hard to change them. But children can be taught democracy while they are young. It'll take three generations of educating school children to wipe out racial and religious prejudice, but we're not going to wait that long. We'll do what we can in the meantime."

O'Dwyer rebuked Ernest Bevin for his slur that the reason for the agitation to open Palestine to refugees was that New York wanted no more Jews. He has worked energetically to try to stop the desecration of New York synagogues.

The Mayor has tackled his job without fanfare. It wasn't until eight months after he took office that City Hall reporters began to receive written news releases. Unlike LaGuardia, he has gone on the air only a few times. As a matter of fact, he would help himself if he spoke up about his accomplishments.

His attitude, however, is: "When I'm gone, people will remember me not by what I said but what I did. I don't pretend to be a wonder-worker. I'm just trying to do the best job I can."

His development during his first year in office, his independence of party bosses, his modesty and his willingness to learn bode well for the future.

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Argentina— South America's New Colossus

by William Mizelle

Strong-arm economic diplomacy by Peron's government is putting the heat on Chile, Bolivia and Uruguay

JUAN PERON'S dream of dominating a "Southern bloc" in the Western Hemisphere will become a reality when the terms of the recent Argentine-Chilean loan agreement are put into effect. The pact puts the Argentine government in business in Chile's most vital basic industries in return for credits totaling $175 million. If destitute Chile cannot meet interest and amortization payments up to $8 million annually, Argentina has been guaranteed foreclosure rights on Chile's national revenues. The method Argentina has used to get her money's worth could result in Argentine entry into Chile to seize her national tax funds, receipts, the income of her vast government-backed industries, etc.

Bolivia and Uruguay are also being wedged into Peron's growing economic bloc. Reliable Bolivian and Uruguayan sources say Argentina has proposed to both nations agreements similar to those in the Chilean pact. Since the advent of Bolivia's revolutionary government, Peron has been withholding up to 90 percent of customary food exports to "encourage" Bolivia to come to terms.

William Mizelle was a newspaperman in Birmingham, Alabama, before the war. After serving as a lieutenant in the Navy, he worked for the UP in New York and is now writing for US magazines in Buenos Aires.

The recent commercial agreement between Argentina and Brazil assures Argentina priority on Brazil's rubber surplus in exchange for wheat.

Outspoken Argentines call the Chilean treaty an "economic occupation." In return for its money, the Peron government gets the following advantages:

1. Access to the new Chilean oil field in Tierra del Fuego, filling one of the crying needs of Peron's militaristic five-year plan; a verbal agreement between the two nations grants Argentina exclusive rights to the field's entire output, except for Chile's domestic petroleum needs. This is affirmed by reliable sources in Buenos Aires despite official denials.

2. Priority on Chile's export production of vital resources, "particularly copper, iron, steel, nitrates, coal, wood and electrical energy," for 50 years. An Argentine-Chilean "Financing Society" has been formed to manage the investments in these resources.

3. Voice in the choice of which Chilean industries will or will not be financed, with the understanding that Argentina must benefit directly by every loan and investment. The Financing Society is headed by four Chileans and three Argentinians and "financing operations must be approved by the unanimous vote of the society's directors."

4. Guaranteed annual profits of four percent on $75 million of Argentina's investment in Chile's industries, plus half of any profits over four percent.

5. Free transit for Argentine goods through Chilean seaports.

6. A customs union, long desired by Argentina, permitting each nation to sell specified articles to the other without paying import duties. This section of the pact sets aside "most-favored-nation" agreements which may have been made with outside countries.

Chile, desperate for money and refused a US loan, had no choice but to walk into Argentina's peso-baited trap. Each of Chile's public undertakings must have the unanimous approval of the three Argentines on the Financing Society.

The machinery by which Argentina secures her investment and which could convert Chile into an Argentine vassal is "adjunct" to the treaty obliging Chile to issue bonds negotiable only in Argentina and for which Chile pledges her "good will and national income." Short of actual foreclosure on her Chilean interests, Argentina might demand large quantities of Chile's raw materials and products instead of money if Chile can't pay off. Alternatively, Argentina might use Chile's inability to meet payments to pressure Chileans into further industrial or political concessions or into granting Argentina the use of military and naval bases. The pact largely offsets the advantages that Brazil's mineral resources and US assistance gave Brazil over Peron in the rivalry for Latin American leadership. Argentina now becomes the colossus of the South.

Opposition spokesmen in Santiago complained bitterly that the Chilean government gave public opinion no hearing before signing the agreement. Also the regime of Chile's new President, Gabriel Gonzales Videla, had been threatened with internal unrest due to the general economic instability. After the US loan failed to materialize, early, if temporary, relief for this situation lay in coming to terms with Peron.

Weeks before the signing of the treaty, *El Mercurio*, Santiago's leading morning paper, accused Argentina of "using foreign commercial policy as an offensive weapon." *El Mercurio* said Argentina's commercial pressure tactics "have set the policy of international trade back to the Middle Ages."

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The CIO Takes a Long Lease In the South

by Ralph G. Martin

After a slow start and many setbacks, "Operation Dixie" is awakening new social forces below the Potomac

"Welcome mats will not be out for the CIO organizing drive in the south, but neither will armed vigilante squads. . . . It's unlikely that management will defy the Wagner Act. . . ."

Business Week, May 11, 1946.

Why can't the textile manufacturers, the employers, fight it out and hire thugs themselves to outpicket the pickets? That's the way it used to be in the good old days, and in the old days, this was a pretty good country. . . . Another thing, why can't we have collective bargaining by employers? . . . Why couldn't cotton manufacturers sit in together and set exactly the wages every mill will pay? It might be illegal according to the Wagner Act but what of it? . . . —*American Wool and Cotton Reporter, July 11, 1946.*

GATES LOCKED TO KEEP VOTERS FROM POLLS; NLRB CALLS OFF ELECTION AS COMPANY INTERFERES.

Gulfport Coast News Digest, Ga.

THE CIO has a long lease on the small building across from Atlanta's old post office. It houses Van A. Bittner's organizing headquarters for the CIO's Southern drive and everybody there realizes this fight is going to be a long, tough one.

All that talk last May about how the CIO's Southern drive was going to net a million new members in a single year was strictly pipe-dream stuff. Everybody here at CIO headquarters is leery about handing out statistics, but the most frequent estimate of new members is something more than 100,000.

That doesn't seem to make anybody gloomy. After all, the drive didn't really get started until late August because they couldn't get office space and equipment until then. Most of their labor organizers were green at the job and had to be trained. Some worked out, some didn't. All that took time.

So far the over-all picture looks good. They've won 310 NLRB elections, petitioned for 200 more and lost only 57. They don't have to worry about money. At the last CIO convention, 40 international unions pledged over a million dollars for '47. And if they need more in '48, they'll get it.

The first victories came easily, like ripe plums. The rest have come more slowly and many of the 250 organizers have sent back material for the CIO file on "incidents": beatings, threats, Ku Klux Klan, shootings.

But this was expected. Most Northern corporations set up factories in the South because they were promised a "good deal." They got it and they want to keep it. Tax-free buildings, cheap labor—and local governments kept their noses out of your business. The CIO stands for higher wages, better working conditions and a higher standard of living, which also means a big slice out of profits.

The smarter companies tried to beat the CIO to the punch. Last August the Southern textile industry came through with an over-all wage raise of eight cents an hour. Bibbs Textile Company, one of the South's largest, raised wages from 40 to 73 cents an hour for their 18,000 workers. Other companies started playing Santa Claus with free barbecues and big dances for their workers. When that didn't work they used fear. They spread whispering campaigns:

"Say, did you hear that the company started dismantling a couple machines already and if the union wins the election they're gonna close up and move North? . . . Is it really true that the voting ballots aren't secret, that the company has a way of finding out how we vote and they'll fire anybody voting union? . . . Somebody told me that the management is going to kick out all union members from company-owned houses. . . ."

At the Lane Cedar Chest Company, the CIO had to postpone an election until after Christmas because rumors were circulating that the workers would not get a Christmas bonus if they voted union. Then some employers made a habit of sending strong-arm squads to the homes of some of the more militant workers to "persuade" them that they were doing the wrong thing. One employer had his own system: he called his workers together and told them he was happy to see so many smiling faces, but if the election didn't go right, some of the faces wouldn't be smiling any longer.

Opposition Tactics

OCCASIONALLY, companies worked through the church. They found a few willing preachers who threatened to kick out anybody who joined the CIO. On the whole, though, the churches stayed neutral. Some even backed the CIO's plan for a higher standard of living. In fact, a sheet called *The Eagle Eye* wrote, "When racketeering ministers call on us to join the UNIONS, tell them in plain words to go to the bottom of HELL. . . ."

Corporations had other devices. They used front organizations of civilians and

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veterans who would go out and try to pick fights so that the organizers could more legally be slapped into jail. In Lanett, Alabama, where a few merchants were friendly to the organizers, some superpatriotic townspeople threw bricks through their windows, bricks warning, "Vote No For CIO."

Then they used the newspapers. The big-city papers were generally as fair as you could expect. The smaller dailies didn't like the idea of the CIO coming in, but they didn't know what to do about it. But the weekly papers weren't confused, especially the weeklies in towns where the CIO was trying to organize, weeklies at least partly controlled by the big corporations. For example, when CIO organizers returned to Eastman, Georgia, to try again to organize the cotton mills there, the Eastman *Times-Journal* said:

> Vulture-like, communistic-like CIO is at it again. Decent people take no for an answer, but the CIO doesn't. They sneak, they crawl, they undermine, they hide their actions under cover of night. . . . We cannot understand why each and every citizen doesn't wage open war against this alleged communistic organization. . . . Let there be action and plenty of it. . . .

The only action was at the polls. The company lost. One reason the CIO organizers had lost the first election there, months before, was because the company promised the workers everything, including the rainbow, if they voted against the union. So they did. After the organizers left, the company forgot all its promises. But the workers didn't. This time when the organizers returned to Eastman, the workers had different ideas about unions.

Where they don't control papers, companies will advertise:

> The CIO has no benefits to offer us. They'll only create strife and cost part of your paycheck each week. For years our valley has been like one big happy family. . . .

There is also the strange story of two hate sheets called *The Trumpet* and *Militant Truth*, devoted almost exclusively to screeching against the CIO, Negroes, Jews and Catholics. The strange thing is that a sheet of this sort always seems to appear in workers' mailboxes just before a union election in a town. Nobody knows exactly where they come from, though most everybody seems to have a good idea.

Similar to these two is the *Orthodox Baptist Searchlight*, published in Arkansas. It printed a faked CIO membership card, which read:

> Communist International Organization
> Moscow—USSR, CIO Affiliate

When the CIO objected, the *Searchlight* apologized, but the damage had been done. Southern weeklies everywhere picked up the faked reproduction and reprinted it, crediting the *Searchlight*.

A *Searchlight* editorial read, "Am I opposed to labor organizations? Certainly not. But I am glad that the Ku Klux Klan is coming back to power. I never heard of anybody being flogged by the Klan but if they went to work on a CIO organizer, that might be just the medicine he needs."

In Payne City, Georgia, a police official announced that he was going into nearby Macon and start a Klan chapter which would concentrate on labor organizers. He didn't say where he was getting the money.

Slush Funds and Threats

A MACON businessman named Holt announced to a meeting of Associated Industries in Atlanta, "We in Macon have raised $30,000 to fight the CIO."

Also trying to help the anti-labor cause along is Joe Kamp's Constitutional Educational League. Kamp pulled off the funniest propaganda of the year when he splashed a broad brush in which he somehow included publisher Roy Howard with the CIO's Southern drive and with the Reds. They say Westbrook Pegler is next on the list.

Something different in tactics was the Russell Manufacturing Company's maneuver in Alexander City, Alabama. The CIO had charged that Russell had fired a number of workers for union activity and the NLRB had tried to find a place to hold a hearing. The mayor wouldn't give them the City Hall because he said there wasn't enough coal and it would be too cold for the witnesses. It is no town secret that the company's manager is his nephew. The Disabled American Veterans first okayed the use of their hall, and then backed out. So did the University of Alabama, which had offered its hunting lodge outside of town. Even the owner of a night club four miles away finally decided that he couldn't let them have his place, either. They finally ended up at the CIO hall, after almost giving up in disgust. Even the mild-mannered NLRB said some nasty words about the company's pressures.

When some companies couldn't get results in these ways, they used dirty tactics:

A midnight telephone call to the CIO organizer:

"Listen, you Red CIO sonofabitch, you better get the hell out of this town or we'll bury you here. . . ."

If the organizers don't scare out—and they don't—then comes the action. Tom Prosser, whose arm was crippled in the war, was beaten near the Avondale Mill Company at Sylacauga, Alabama; a deputy sheriff worked over organizer Ben Bibb in Montgomery; Smith and Fetter were distributing leaflets to the Beacon Manufacturing Company workers when they were mobbed and beaten; Ingle and Andrew were ambushed in Evergreen, Alabama; their car was shot at and burned; a city official of Parson, Tennessee, headed a delegation of 50 to invite four organizers to get the hell out and stay out. . . . It's a long list and most of the organizers' names belong to war veterans who were born or raised in the South.

It still could be worse. Only three years ago, in Vicksburg, the local police collected all CIO organizers and corralled them in a yard for the convenience of the mob. That hasn't happened yet in the present drive.

Uphill Fight

FOR THINGS like that, civil-rights trouble-shooter Lucy Mason goes to work. She's a slim, gray-haired woman who looks as though she should be home knitting, but she has the reputation of being one of the smartest, fastest-talking CIO leaders in the South. Belonging to one of the South's

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first families, she has entrée everywhere and her influence is tremendous. Almost everybody who is anybody down South is either her cousin or friend, and hardly anyone ever says no to Lucy Mason.

She has a special way of dealing with sheriffs. When one sheriff waved a pistol at a Negro picket line and threatened to bury them all in the local graveyard, Lucy went into action. She used words like "federal prosecution" "civil rights" and "FBI" until she had the sheriff scared silly. It was all a mistake, he said, and it would never happen again. It hasn't.

The threat of an FBI investigation is a strong one. Occasionally when the incident is serious enough and Lucy files a formal complaint, an FBI man will come down to look around. Usually, all he has to do is to get the sheriff or somebody aside and say, "Lock, brother, if you don't watch out you'll be getting yourself in trouble. You can't do this. . . ."

As for the organizers themselves, they know exactly what they can and can't do. Each of them has a clearly written, comprehensive booklet called "Your Civil Rights."

The CIO's Strategy

IF THERE is an over-all strategy to the CIO drive, it's to unionize the big, tough companies first. Once they're in, it will be easier to get the smaller ones. But if they first unionized all the smaller manufacturers, many of them would have to go out of business because they wouldn't be able to pay higher wages and still compete with the bigger companies. In getting the big boys, the CIO must organize all their factories at the same time. Otherwise, the corporations can play checkers with their plants and workers, closing up one plant and shifting the non-union workers elsewhere.

Textiles are putting up the toughest fight, with Bibbs and Cannon in the lead.

But the worst working conditions are not in textiles: they're in woodworking and tobacco. So far the CIO hasn't lost a single election among tobacco workers.

Nobody knows the CIO membership potential in the South. The ones who hate the CIO call their drive "the second invasion of the carpetbaggers." The others look at the 15.5-cent-an-hour wage increase at the Lafayette Cotton Mills in Georgia and at the company in Danville, Virginia, which agreed to pay for life and hospitalization insurance for employees and their immediate families. They look at Gadsden, Alabama, where one out of every five persons is a CIO member and the town has had its face lifted with a dozen civic improvements.

These are the Southerners who know that their South of 26 million people has the most inadequate facilities for education, housing and health of any section of the country. For Southern progressives, the CIO is a hope. More money for workers means better working conditions, decent homes, better communities, more education, improved medical care. And more educated workers means more politically conscious ones, means *finis* to the Bilbos and the Rankins. It means a new South.

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Henry Wallace's Forum

Churchill's Crusade

A NEW PALADIN has arisen to lead a modern crusade as fantastic as any of those led by Richard the Lion-Hearted. This crusade, fantastic though it may be, has great danger for the American people. It consists of an attempt by Winston Churchill to create an Anglo-American alliance whose main purpose would be to encircle Soviet Russia, compelling her to do our bidding and holding up before her the alternative of a war—a war in which America's atom bomb would be the final resource of the Anglo-American crusaders.

Listen to Winston Churchill, writing in *Collier's* of January 4, 1947, with its 2.7 million circulation:

"The schism between communism on the one hand and Christian ethics and Western civilization on the other is the most deadly, far-reaching and rending that the human race has known."

Yes, the embattled Churchill states specifically that the issues are deeper now than in the religious wars between the Catholics and Protestants 350 years ago or in the French Revolution 160 years ago or in what Churchill calls the "power struggle" against Hitler just ended.

Poor Churchill! He was defeated in July of 1945, just when he was all set to lead a new and most sacred crusade. He went to Potsdam as Prime Minister, but before the conference was over, it was Attlee who was Prime Minister. Churchill, who loves drama and showmanship more than any other statesman that ever lived, saw the power of the atomic bomb in the hands of men like Truman and Attlee. He, the Tory aristocrat, the incarnation of Marlborough, saw the industries of Britain being socialized. He saw India and Egypt slipping away. He saw American capitalism inevitably outrunning British competition. He, to whom empire and power mean so much, saw men he had disdained making what he considered a mess of empire and power. So he turned to the United States.

The President's cabinet, to the best of my knowledge, knew nothing in advance about the Churchill speech at Fulton, Missouri. Truman at no point discussed with his cabinet the important shift in American policy that this speech set in motion—a policy widely interpreted as an anti-Soviet military alliance. Truman didn't suspect what Churchill was up to. He first saw the speech on the evening of March 4, but he didn't take the trouble to read it. Truman simply didn't know his Churchill. He didn't know his Churchill when, a week or so later, I told him that the former Prime Minister had shown him, as President of the United States, the greatest discourtesy.

Few public addresses in the history of the world have been so loaded with dynamite as Churchill's Fulton iron-curtain, Anglo-American-alliance speech. The American people were shocked and staggered by its content, coming from a wartime Prime Minister who, they reasoned, must have access to special information they did not possess. Many accepted the idea of an iron curtain imposed by Russia and the idea of Russia's implacable hostility toward the Western world. Some Americans, war-weary but tense, began to move dangerously toward the thought of an irrepressible conflict. My speech of September 12 helped to blow away some of the fog Churchill had created.

A WEEK after my September 12 speech, Churchill came out with his proposal at Zurich for a spiritually strong France, in partnership with a spiritually strong Germany, leading Western Europe. This theme of the great Christian West as a bulwark against the onrushing barbarous hordes of the East he develops in his *Collier's* article, as he pleads for five great spheres of influence. He asks France to marry Germany just as he, on behalf of England, offered to marry France in June, 1940. Churchill uses honeyed words to make the nuptials seem attractive, saying: "The only worthwhile prize of victory is the power to forgive and to guide; and this is the prize which glitters and shines before the French people at this solemn moment in their long history."

Apparently Churchill thinks it more important to forgive the Nazis, who set the world in flames, than to maintain coöperation with Russia, with whom, at grievous sacrifice, victory was forged.

Stripped of its fine words, the Tory position is essentially that Germany and France must combine to be the buffer against Russia. Germany and France will guide Western Europe in resisting Russia. Germany and France will provide the foot soldiers if trouble arises. Germany has a greater industrial potential than France. Germany has a greater sense of discipline. Germany must gradually be made strong again. True, Churchill has not said

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these things publicly, but other Conservatives have said them privately. Churchill merely calls the war against Germany a "power struggle," not to compare in significance with the deadly schism between the Western world and Russia. While Russia still lies prostrate and bleeding, he forgets her sufferings in his eagerness to restore to full vigor the nation that was the cause of her plight.

Churchill is an incurable believer in Anglo-Saxon destiny. Like so many tories in England and the United States, he believes in the innate superiority of the Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic strain. I argued with him once against a permanent Anglo-American bloc, based on blood and directed against the other peoples of the world, as he sought to persuade a skeptical Roosevelt. I am opposed to all such alliances, but I pointed out that if we were to have one, there is more justification for an alliance with Latin America than with England. He turned to me fiercely and said, "I am a painter and I know if you mix the colors all you get is a dirty brown."

This leader of the new crusade quotes as his credo, which he hopes will meet response in "every generous heart," the following statement by a British writer:

"The real *demarcation* between *Europe* and *Asia* is no chain of mountains, no natural frontier, but a system of beliefs and ideas which we call *Western civilization*. In the rich pattern of this culture there are many strands: the Hebrew belief in God, the Christian message of compassion and redemption, the Greek love of truth, beauty and goodness, the Roman genius for law. Europe is a spiritual conception, but if men cease to hold that conception in their minds, cease to feel its worth in their hearts, it will die." (Italics mine. – H. A. W.)

Truly a resounding statement, but one which assumes there is no Eastern civilization and that all which comes from the East is evil. Churchill then proceeds to develop his thesis of Western Christianity with its flaming sword of the atom bomb as an effective offset to the overwhelming hordes of Russian foot soldiers.

CHURCHILL'S scheme is now clear. He assumes that our atom bombs and air power are at England's disposal. The first-line weapons are the foot soldiers and the industry of France and western Germany. France and Germany will guide Europe. England will guide France and Germany and, by the grace of God and Winston Churchill, the airplanes and the atom bombs of the United States will uphold her right arm.

The Churchill January 4 article apparently seeks to set the stage effectively for the March, 1947, meeting in Moscow dealing with Germany, just as the Churchill March, 1946, speech apparently set the tone for the Paris meetings in the summer of 1946. But I do not believe the Churchill view of January 4 any more represents the sentiments of the British than did his speech at Fulton. The British want peace with Russia. They don't believe in iron curtains or racist blocs of any composition. They don't believe in atom-bomb Christianity. Churchill is on the loose again in the United States. He is hunting for the new Cliveden set. He may have found a nucleus for it when he was here last year.

Churchill and his American friends, as long as they live, will be certain that Russia is evil and that she must be taught Christian manners and Christian ways. I am convinced that this course is not Christian, that it is not realistic and that it will lead inevitably to enormous expenditures for armaments and finally to worldwide conflagration. As long as Churchill's prestige dominates certain elements in the American public and certain powerful individuals in our government, we can expect trouble.

CHURCHILL does not speak for the British people or the British government. I do not speak for the American people or the American government. Churchill does speak for the world-war front. I hope and believe I speak for the world-peace front.

If the Tories of Britain have the right to appeal directly to the people of the US, certainly we progressives of the US have the right to appeal directly to the peace-loving people of Britain. In due time we shall exercise our privilege.

Undoubtedly, Churchill believes that an Anglo-American-dominated United Nations armed with the irresistible atom bomb should be used to hold Russia in check. He sincerely thinks, as do many Americans, that that is the only road to one world and peace. For my part, I am certain that the course Churchill advocates would make inevitable the very thing he seeks to avert—the destruction of civilization. Peace cannot be achieved by coercive threats backed by hideous weapons. In the name of one world and peace the Churchillians are making two worlds and war.

We progressives in the New World pledge to our friends in Britain that this Churchill policy can and will be defeated—this policy which accidentally and temporarily became the American policy after the Fulton speech. None of us is prepared to underwrite to the full Russia's present policies. We have criticized her in the past and we expect to criticize her in the future. But we are confident that every legitimate dispute we may have with Russia is capable of amicable solution. We are confident that with good will, reason and justice we can move forward to peace, prosperity and one world.

H. A. W.

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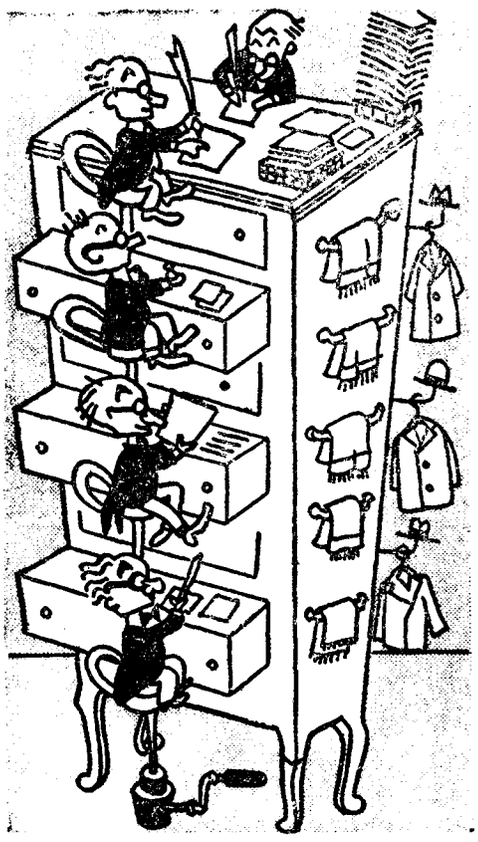
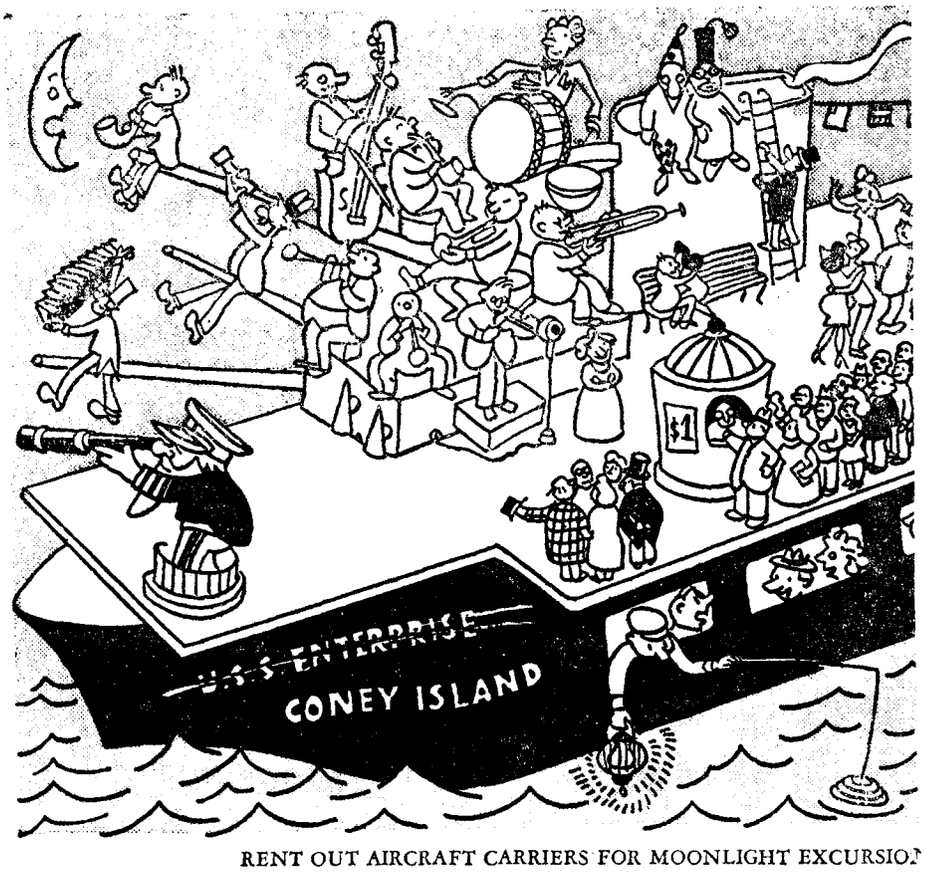
Budget Hints to the Eightieth Congress

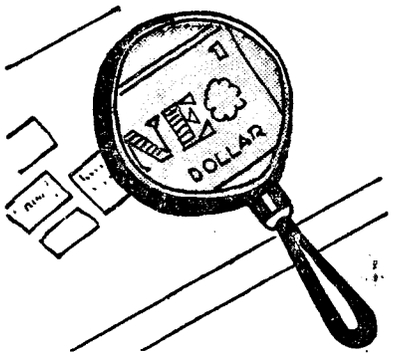
A few rock-bottom suggestions to economy-minded Republicans



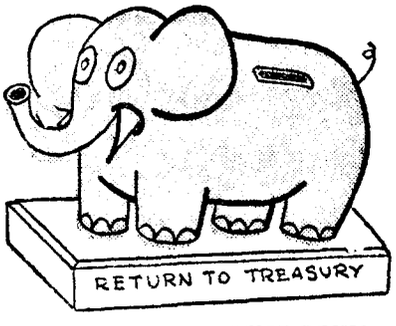
UNITE AGENCIES IN ONE BUREAU



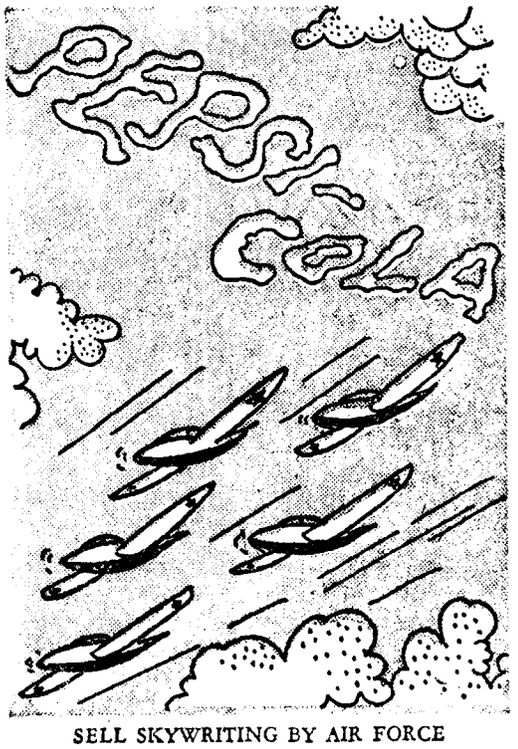
RENT OUT AIRCRAFT CARRIERS FOR MOONLIGHT EXCURSIO?



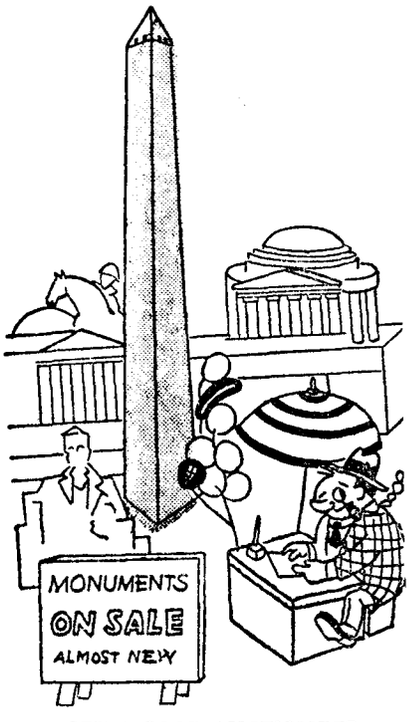
REDUCE MONEY TO REAL VALUE



PUT BANKS ON OFFICE DESKS



SELL SKYWRITING BY AIR FORCE



GET A GOOD AUCTIONEER

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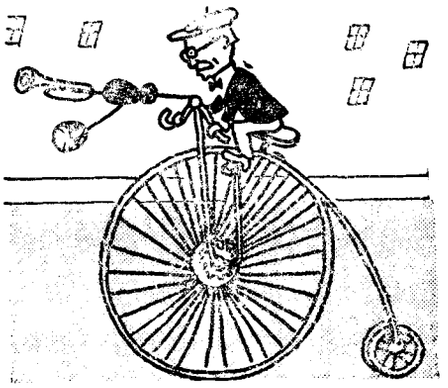
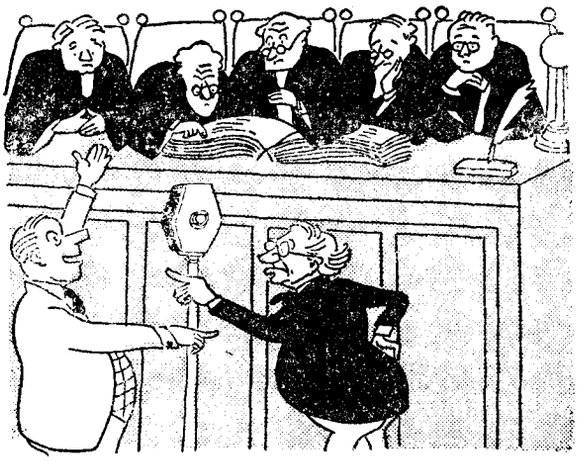
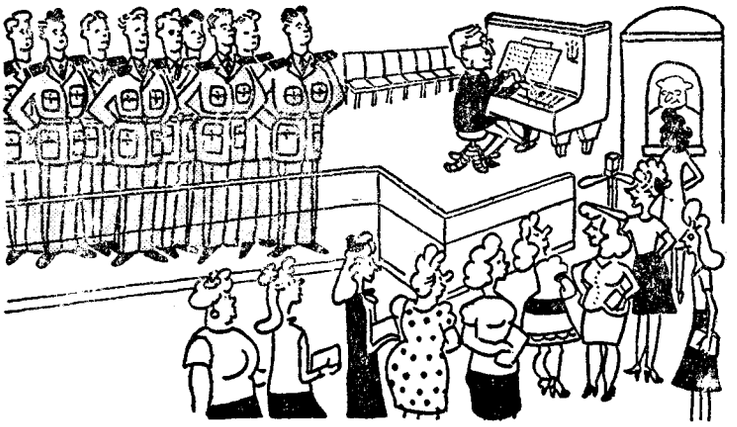


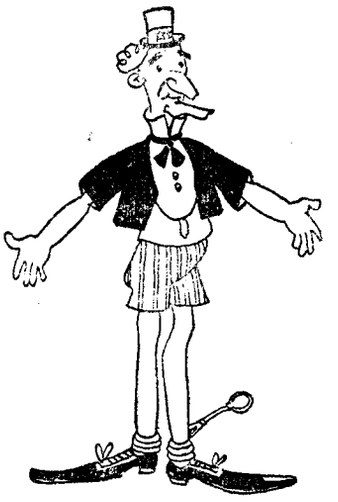
GIVE UP ALL OFFICIAL CARS



HAVE SPONSOR PUT SUPREME COURT ON THE AIR



HIRE OUT HANDSOME NAVAL ESCORTS—PIANIST INCLUDED



WEAR LESS

SELL THE TVA BACK TO THE "INDIANS"

Drawings by E. Schloss

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The Liberals—Split As Usual

By Helen Fuller

With reaction in the saddle, PCA and ADA dangerously emphasize their differences, ignore broad areas of agreement

DO YOU FEEL all dressed up and no place to go—politically? Does your pulse fail to quicken at the prospect of choosing between Truman and Taft in 1948? Do you privately feel that you should be "doing more" about politics—but aren't sure what group you want to do it with?

If your answer to any or all of these questions is "yes," there is a bounty on your head. You are one of those whom thinkers are now calling political displaced persons. But there are lots of havens open to you, lots of bidders for your favor. Perhaps a little background on the rivals for your support may help you to decide.

Only if you are a member of the CIO is your choice a fairly simple one. There is only one CIO-PAC and that is for you. The question of how the CIO-PAC can work with other community groups, and which groups, is one that need not worry you until much later.

But if you fall into the white-collar, professional class on the census cards, you will probably have several organizational bids this year. Today there is some kind of independent voters' group in more than half the states and most large cities. The National Citizens' Political Action Committee, which was started by Sidney Hillman before the 1944 election to influence those voters not reached by the CIO-PAC, claims state committees or affiliated organizations in 15 states, involving about 50,000 people. The Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, which was also organized in 1944 to mobilize the groups specified in its title, has branched out from its bases in New York and Hollywood to boast of over 18,000 members and chapters in 15 states. The Union for Democratic Action, dating back to early 1941, has approximately 10,000 members.

There is no official audit bureau to estimate the validity of these round figures. But a much more burning question which the progressive-minded citizen has persisted in asking, to the embarrassment of the liberal bureaucrats, is, "Why don't you folks get together?" Shortly after the 1944 election, an effort was made to merge the three main groups mentioned above and several other compatible ones.

But there was no merger, and the UDA began to drift further and further away from the other two organizations and to criticize them more and more strongly for their policy of admitting to membership all individuals—including some people widely held to be Communists—who agreed with their programs, without inquiring into each one's political affiliations. The UDA contended that the first job in liberal organizations, before constructive action was possible, was to scrutinize all members in order to spot Communists and fellow travelers and to throw out those so identified before they got in. The NCPAC and ICCASP leaders rejected this approach as historically unsound, as tending to encourage fighting among liberals and to dissipate energies needed for fighting reaction.

Liberals Become Realists

LIBERAL leaders had plenty to think about after the loss of last year's congressional elections. The most intelligent ones faced up to how much they still had to learn and how far they were from being as professionally competent as their machine-trained opponents. The executive boards of the NCPAC and the ICCASP, mindful of the hard

MRS. ROOSEVELT

DAVID DUBINSKY

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JO DAVIDSON

times for liberalism that could be seen ahead with the naked eye, started talking business. On December 28-29, about 300 delegates representing members of the two groups in 21 states met in New York to merge completely. The ICCASP delegates stood out for their glamor, while the NCPAC people seemed to know more practical politics. But it quickly appeared that "no taxation without representation" was the common cause of the local-chapter representatives of both groups. There had been too much benevolent dictation from New York headquarters, and the subcommittees which had worked out proposed terms of the merger in advance saw they would get no rubber-stamp approval.

First Steps

THE grass-roots representatives rejected the name their New York committee had suggested for the new organization and chose their own, Progressive Citizens of America. The constitution committee removed the provision locating national headquarters of the PCA in New York when it became apparent that those from west of the Hudson were in a mood to vote for Chicago or some such spot instead. It is unfortunate that, although the constitution of the new PCA provides for a broadly representative board of 150, the interim steering committee is again mainly composed of the same little group of New Yorkers which has dominated the two organizations in the past.

Opposition on the part of the UDA to PCA principles and procedures came into public view on January 4 when, on UDA call, 150 prominent liberals met in Washington and voted to form a new organization called Americans for Democratic Action. In its first press release, the new ADA declared that "we reject any association with Communists or sympathizers with communism in the United States," and went on to announce a program which is broadly New Deal on domestic issues and pro-United Nations on international issues. Domestically, the PCA and the ADA seem to be walking in perfect step, but on foreign policy many individual members interpret the ADA view of desirable US policy toward Russia as being closer to that of Secretary Byrnes than to that of Henry Wallace. While the PAC called for an immediate end to atomic-bomb production, the ADA supported the Baruch plan for atomic control.

A Positive Program

ADA spokesmen emphasize that they will follow a positive program and do not intend to spend their time in Red-baiting. And the ablest and strongest of the new blood introduced into the Washington meeting wants to do far more than use the ADA merely as a sort of liberal intellectual association. Mrs. Roosevelt, in her usual wise and appealing fashion, told the group that in order to succeed, it must so attractively present a positive democratic alternative to communism that all the people can see and follow. But plain talk like hers, based on work with the individual voter in the individual precinct, was all too rare at the session. Yet the group did select Wilson Wyatt, probably the next-best politician to Mrs. Roosevelt present, as a co-chairman of the continuing committee appointed to draw up a detailed plan of action and policy.

The immediate result of the latest conferences held by liberal groups is to emphasize the differences between them—and this is at a time when unity among liberals is desperately needed. Still another meeting is scheduled—a get-together of the groups friendly to the two PAC's that met in Chicago last September. If these decide to invite the ADA to join the new conference, and if the ADA accepts, there may still be a chance for coöperation instead of all-out competition.

The Neighborly Approach

PERHAPS as good advice as any to liberals who want to be politically useful in the next two years is not to worry about which national liberal organization they should join, and to start testing their own seriousness about political action by working with their neighbors in their home town. No national organization is going to be well enough organized or financed to do all that must be done this year in individual communities if liberalism is to win in 1948. Everything depends on how many citizens get together with their neighbors and go into politics on their own. Citywide and statewide organizations are useful and exciting, but ward and precinct clubs get more concrete results with less talk. The national and global approach to liberalism, the commas and whereases in policy statements, are important, but the city block and the rural box are still the foundation on which progressivism has to be built. A whole alphabet of liberal organizations won't change that. The organization that sticks closest to the backyard approach to progress is the one that will grow strongest and serve you best.

DR. FRANK KINGDON

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Whatever Happened to Free Enterprise?

by Ruth Moore

The big get bigger, with government assistance, the Kefauver Committee charges in its report on monopoly

WITH one hand—rather a feeble one—the government has attempted to check monopoly. With the other, it has handed over to the monopolists—the industrial giants—a large part of the country's great war plants and the incalculably valuable patents and know-how resulting from government-financed research.

The result, as the Kefauver Subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee pointed out in its recent report, "The United States v. Economic Concentration and Monopoly," shows that big business is growing bigger and that there is less and less of the competitive free enterprise of which so many fondly speak. Never have so few controlled so much.

Furthermore, the report makes clear, the growth of monopoly is speeding up still more in the present postwar period. The business giants came out of the war with millions of dollars of fluid working capital. It was a Commerce Department report to the Kefauver Committee which noted:

"The gains of the larger corporations are in the form of tremendous amounts of working capital for which they have little use in their internal operation as long as the levels of production do not increase very substantially. It is probable, therefore, that they will use these funds . . . for the acquisition of other and smaller production companies or for the extension of services."

In its study, the committee also gives a vivid picture of what monopoly already has cost the country. Some of these data are drawn from the studies previously made by the Temporary National Economic Committee and the Smaller War Plants Corporation.

1. The largest corporations now hold approximately two-thirds of the nation's usable manufacturing facilities.

2. Some 500,000 small businesses were eliminated during the war. At the beginning of 1946 there were still 160,000 fewer small businesses operating than in 1941. Most of the newcomers are in the hazardous retail field. The few seeking to enter manufacturing, said the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, "will encounter increasing difficulty because of the dominance of large manufacturers."

3. Sixty-eight large corporations received two-thirds of the total value of all federal research and development contracts during the war. The 10 top corporations received nearly 40 percent of the wartime research contracts.

4. The top 250 corporations now have 70 percent of the new publicly financed war facilities.

Furthermore, the committee demonstrated:

1. Monopoly has meant high prices. In one case a company reduced the life of lamp bulbs and discouraged testing. Prices fall less in concentrated than in competitive industries. For example, from 1929 to 1932, prices fell only four percent on aluminum, a field in which the entire output was controlled by a single company. Prices in the highly competitive lumber industry dropped 36 percent.

2. Monopoly has suppressed new products and restricted production. For instance, the introduction of fluorescent light bulbs was delayed because they would reduce the consumption of electricity. Similarly, the development of synthetic rubber was blocked before the war.

3. Monopoly agreements with foreign cartels have interfered with United States trade.

The report points a finger directly at three federal government agencies for "promoting" the growth of economic concentration, and indirectly at the Bureau of the Budget for starving the anti-trust forces for funds.

Charges Against the WAA

THE first-named is the War Assets Administration. Although that agency was specifically instructed by Congress to dispose of the nation's war plants in such a way as to discourage monopolistic practices and to aid small business, the committee makes the following major charges:

1. The 279 corporations which have bought up more than 70 percent of the war plants built with government funds, before the war owned and operated about 60 percent of the nation's manufacturing facilities. Therefore, the committee report says, the WAA has "helped to increase industrial concentration above the already serious degree that existed in 1939." The WAA answers that during the war the same firms held 79 percent of the facilities, and thus it has reduced concentration.

2. The large war contractors bought up all the best of the equipment in the plants and left only the unwanted tools to be declared surplus. According to the report it was 10 months after the end of the war before the WAA acted to check this practice.

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3. Very little was done to give small business a break in getting surplus war equipment.

Serious charges are also made against the Civilian Production Administration. Despite protests that small business would not have a fair chance during reconversion if controls were taken off too early, the CPA removed them.

The CPA had predicted that there would be plenty of steel. When a shortage promptly developed, little business had trouble obtaining a share. After conferences with the House Small Business Committee, the CPA agreed to provide small business with priorities again, but the report declares that nearly all of the first 700 applications were turned down by the CPA.

Even more serious accusations of promoting monopoly are made against the Army. During the war nearly 2,000 industrial organizations were given almost a billion dollars to carry on research for the government. The federal money handed these corporations greatly exceeded the amount spent by the entire nation for industrial research in any prewar year.

The money came from all the people, but 90 percent of the contracts gave the firm doing the research the ownership of any patents that resulted. The only exception was that the government received a royalty-free license for its own use only. What these patents and know-how will be worth to the favored firms is beyond calculation. They hold the key to most of the scientific and industrial advances made during the war. It has been estimated that about 77 percent will have a peacetime application.

This story, the committee emphasizes, has not ended. In the postwar period the government will continue to carry on research. The Army and Navy were given authority, as of July 1, 1946, to spend more than $500 million on research and development. The committee was told that the new research contracts being negotiated are similar as far as patent rights are concerned to those negotiated during the war.

"All kinds of business, big and little, contribute through taxes toward this research," the committee said, "Yet the patents and know-how resulting from such research will go to a new company and help strengthen the forces making for increased economic concentration."

David and Goliath

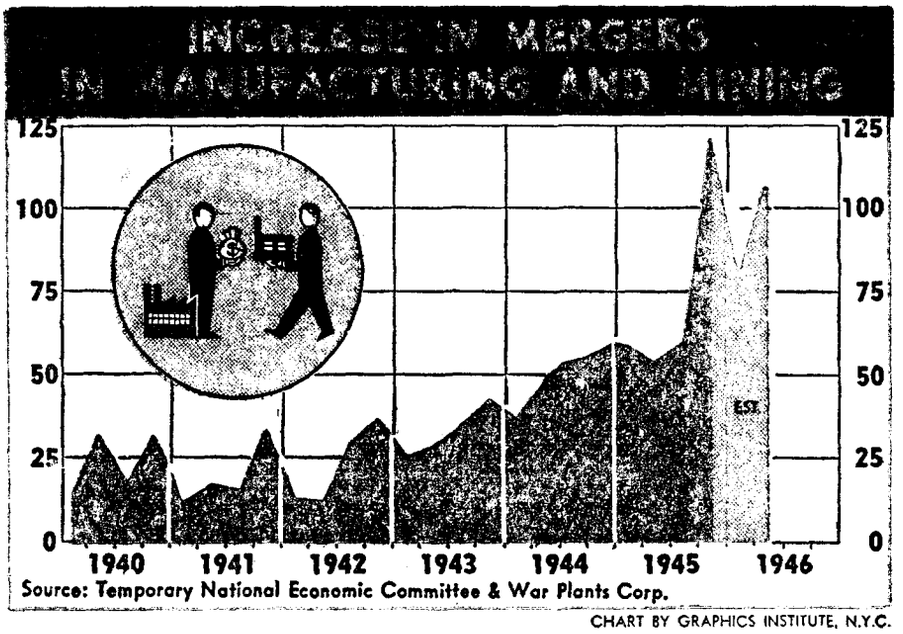
AGAINST this growing industrial might and its allies in some branches of the government, the federal anti-monopoly forces are puny. Year after year, the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, the Federal Trade Commission and certain sections of the Department of Commerce and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have struggled along on small appropriations. The FTC and the Anti-Trust Division, for example, have only eight economists each. In one case, against a powerful cement monopoly, three FTC attorneys fought lawyers from 41 law firms, including some of the largest and most successful in the country. According to the press, the cement defenders spent about $5 million—approximately twice as much as the Commission receives in one year.

For 1947 the Bureau of the Budget has approved more than $2.6 million for the FTC. This was later increased by $857,000. For 1947 the Anti-Trust Division has been allotted $1.9 million. Both agencies, although they must fight the industrial giants, have never requested the money to build up the staff that would be needed to wage the battle on anything like a realistic basis.

The committee commented: "One can only conclude that the Anti-Trust Division thinks of itself as a group of knights errant going out on foraging expeditions, or they have become so devoid of hope that they will ever receive an appropriation consistent with the size of their job that they feel it is hopeless to make a request for the amount necessary to carry on their responsibilities."

Reluctance to Get Tough

BUT even the modest knight-errant kinds of request have generally been severely pared by the Bureau of the Budget. Actually, in four of the last nine years Congress has appropriated more money for the two divisions than the Bureau has recommended. The committee also finds that the anti-monopoly agencies have not worked closely together and it was moved to comment that there seemed to be less coöperation among the anti-monopoly agencies than among the four top firms in almost any monopolistically controlled industry. It also found that the anti-trust agencies tended to act upon complaints brought to them, and that they have broken all too few lances against the big-power boys. The committee also commented that there has been little follow up to see that cases won in court stayed won. Despite much "brilliant work" against great odds, the committee concluded that it must place an "imprint of fail-



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ure" on the government efforts to check monopoly.

On the basis of its analysis, the committee drew up a program which it believes would enable the government to cope with monopoly. It admitted that such a course would cost money and would mean "interference" with business.

"We cannot avoid paying a price for our ineffective and inconsistent action against concentration over the last fifty years," the report says.

The major recommendation is for the adoption of a concerted, unified government policy based on the premise that the concentration of economic power is inimical to "the continued existence of a free-enterprise system."

Eternal Vigilance

As a first step toward making the policy effective, the report recommended that the FTC establish "an index of concentration." In effect, this would mean a measuring rod, a pair of eyes that would continuously scan the economic horizon. Whenever an industry was seen to be gathering in the little fellows, whenever an industry began to take over an undue percentage of the business in the field, or when monopoly prices rose, it would appear on the index, and the government could go into action.

The Anti-Trust Division and other divisions also must be given funds to do their jobs as they should be done, the committee insisted. It particularly called for more emphasis on follow-up and on economic results.

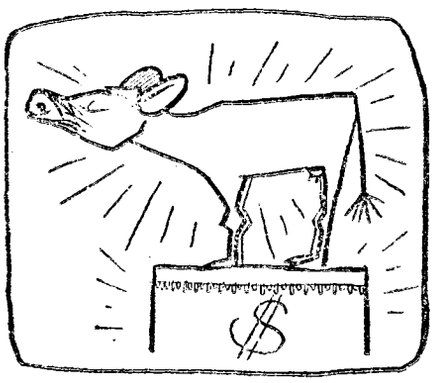
For Congress, the committee also has a program. It urged amendment of the laws to give the government's anti-monopoly forces tighter controls over mergers, and to close a loophole that now makes it impossible to proceed against a monopoly if it buys the assets of a smaller firm rather than take over its capital stock. The job could thus be done, the committee insists. In fact, it adds, it must be done.

"Either we must believe in and take the steps necessary to make possible a competitive free-enterprise system, or we must give it up, bit by bit, and year by year," the committee concluded.

Holy Cow!

by Thomas Whiteside

A hucksters' dream come true: more Americans recognize Elsie, Borden's publicity myth, than Chief Justice Vinson



According to legend, Aaron was the first man to fashion a golden calf. He commanded the people to worship it. Fortunately, the Children of Israel failed to take to the scheme for long, and Aaron flopped as a public-relations man. I believe he lived out his life in chagrin.

Today, one of our largest corporations has taken up where Aaron left off; where he failed, it has succeeded. It has raised to a status of public adoration not a calf, it is true, but a cow: Elsie the Cow. Perhaps no more fitting tribute to the golden influence of this American totem exists than the fact that last year the Borden Company, its owner, grossed more than $500 million through the sale of dairy products. Millions bow to the beast. The mayors of 14 California cities once prostrated themselves before the cow when she emerged from a plane at the San Francisco airport. This deferential gesture, involving the presentation to Elsie the Cow of the keys to their respective cities, would probably be regarded as a triumph of mercantilism in less fully industrialized countries, but to Borden's it was more or less routine.

To determine the animal's popularity, Borden's has had several public-opinion polls taken on Elsie. In 1945, her picture was identified correctly by 58 percent of the people interrogated. This figure becomes meaningful when compared with the recognition rating of other public figures such as Albert Einstein (48 percent), James F. Byrnes (44 percent) and Van Johnson (43 percent). Henry Wallace barely edged out the cow in recognition value by two percent. In late 1946 Elsie was correctly identified by more people than recognized Jane Russell, who herself has not suffered unduly from lack of publicity.

Anatomy of Faith

Elsie's rating is now 63.5 percent, against which Fred Vinson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, rates only 40.2 percent. Furthermore, the decisions and dissents of Elsie the Cow receive considerably more attention in our American press than those of the Chief Justice. Her likeness appears regularly in national magazines with a total circulation of 30 million. At the New York World's Fair alone, 10 million people stood in line to see the original Borden cow, named You'll Do, Lobelia. A pamphlet of the time, distributed free to fascinated onlookers by Borden, described the animal's itinerary thus:

> This summer, Elsie will live in a glass house! Literally. The most pampered bucolic belle of the times will dwell, indeed, in a glass-fronted, spacious, lavishly appointed boudoir—Elsie actually will reside in bed, standing among the posts of a canopied bed of exaggerated proportions. As a preventative of nostalgia, the wallpaper will portray pastoral

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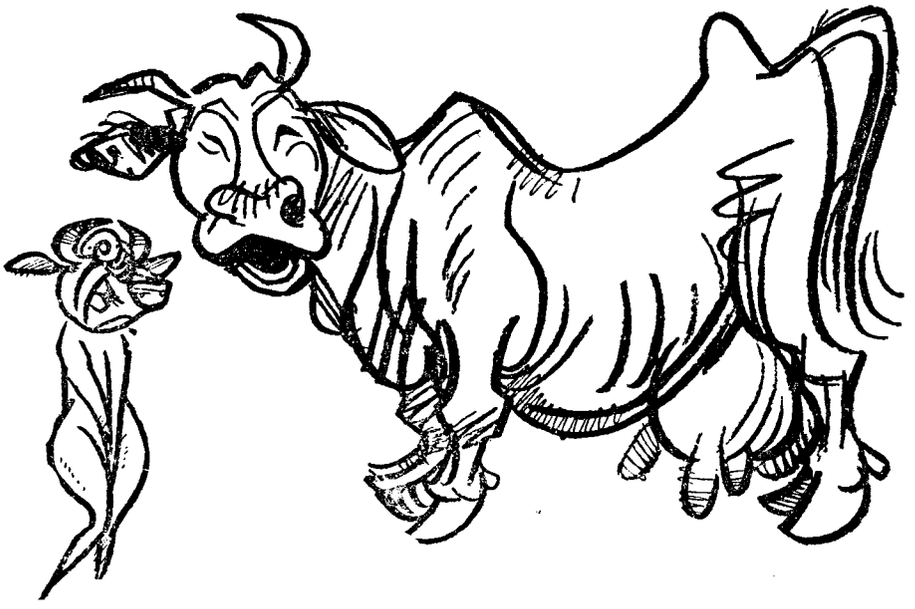
scenes. Elsie will have, of course, her dressing table—with mirror, brushes, cosmetics incident of a distinguished beauty's vanity assembly. . . .

When the cow traveled, she was accompanied, in addition to sundry press agents, by a special manicurist. Presents and letters came to her from all over the country. She rode the elevators of practically every high-class hotel in the land. In Hollywood, she played with Kay Francis in a film called "Little Men." During her absences from the World's Fair, another cow was slyly substituted in Flushing Meadow for Elsie, but an aroused public apparently considered the substitution a shallow deceit. Borden's public-relations men hastily installed a bull, Elmer, in its exhibit and spread the idea that this creature was Elsie's husband and that he was merely keeping house for Elsie while she was away. The public accepted this fiction not only with relief but with outright joy. In fact, the bull in the case had 20 cows at his disposal, but was so defective in passion that he actually ignored them. Nevertheless, Elsie bore a calf, Beulah, and the morally upright American public took it for granted that Elmer was the father.

Rejoicing throughout the land was general, and indeed comparable only to the reactions common in European countries upon the birth of royalty. Congratulations poured in by wire and mail. Overcome with emotion, an astrologer even went to the trouble of compiling Elsie's outlook as conditioned by star phenomena on her day of birth. He predicted that she would die of peaceful old age. Actually, she came to an untimely end while traveling from her farm to a dinner at Sardi's. This was in May, 1941, just before the German invasion of Russia. The country was shocked by the news of her death. So was Borden's. "Everyone in the company was deeply grieved," Stuart Peabody, its advertising director, was to write, "because they sincerely loved the cow. Those of us concerned with promotion were prostrated. . . . The whole promotion seemed about to collapse."

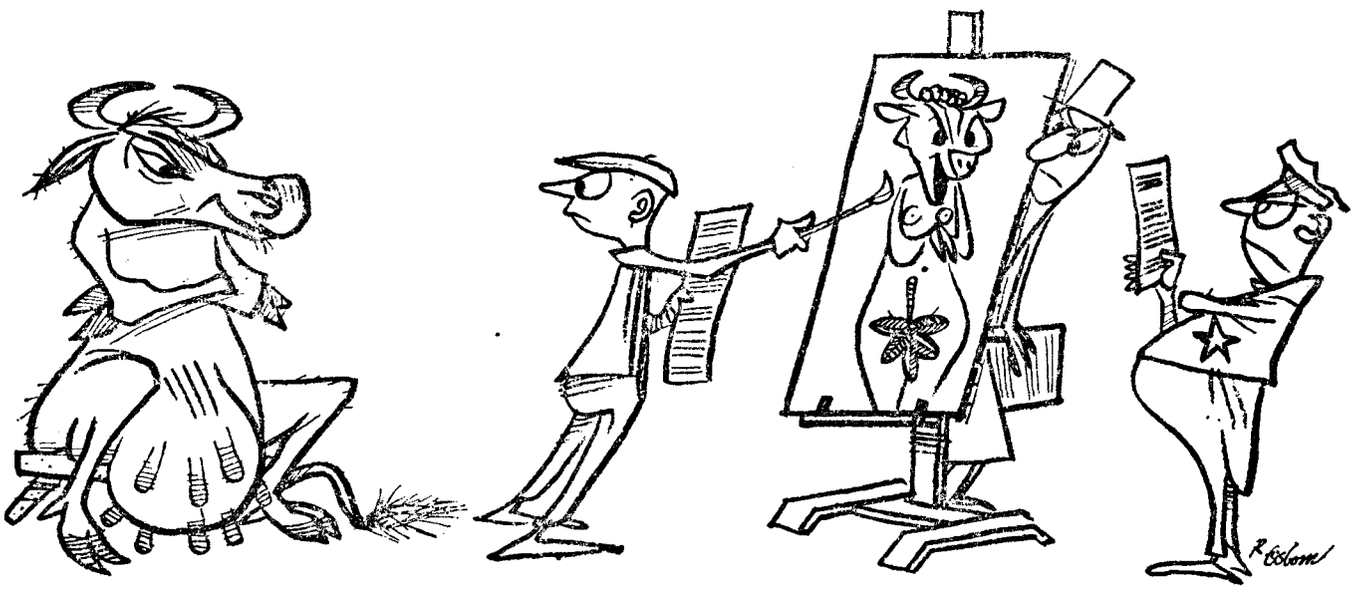


THE CHORTLING HERD WINDS SLOWLY O'ER THE LEA

However, the funeral meats were scarcely cold before Borden's bounced back. A stunned public had refused to accept the fact of Elsie's death. Borden's got, not another cow, but three cows. The legend lives on. This triple identity has even hypnotized Borden publicity men into considering them as one organism. "We can't keep up with the goddam animal," they will say.

Out, Immigrant!

CHOOSING a cow for the supreme role of Elsie is a difficult matter involving the best brains from Borden's public-relations division. The creature must be admired not only by the general public



THE BEAST'S UDDER WAS CENSORED BY BORDEN'S "CREATIVE PEOPLE"

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THE CHIEF JUSTICE RATES ONLY 40.2 PERCENT; ELSIE, 63.5 PERCENT

but by farmers. It must be photogenic in the extreme and have a rather human look. "The first cow we ever had at the World's Fair looked like an immigrant," a Borden man will say disgustedly, "it was a big Ayrshire. But this Jersey, You'll Do, Lobelia, had the best face you ever saw—a cute-dish puss. I was looking over another candidate the other day. She was type-y, mind you, a good Jersey, but she wouldn't appeal to city people. I turned her down."

The Smoke-Filled Barn

IN PICTURES, as distinct from on the hoof, Elsie has been endowed with almost entirely human characteristics. She thus enters American mythology on a par with other anthropomorphic characters like Planter's peanut with the monocle, Donald Duck, and Gorgon, the talking dog.

These human characteristics have been incorporated with very great care. A moral code for cows is one thing, for humans another. Borden artists operate under a strict propaganda directive governing humanization of the beast. For example, the directive specifies that what Borden's refers to coyly as "Elsie's milk department" may be shown *only* when she is in the natural position of a real cow, on all fours. "Whenever shown standing or in any other 'human' position," says the directive, "the udder must be concealed by a leg or some device such as an apron." Otherwise it becomes objectionable. The cow-human must never be shown in profile, for some reason. Her duo-claws may be used as a thumb, but never shaped like one. Elsie's eyes must never be drawn with too much of a slant, for this imparts to the cow's face a prurient and wolflike leer. The beast may be attractive, but not sensual. The eyes must never be drawn too far back. This is apt to give Elsie a mean look, and, as can be seen from the Borden commandments below, is contrary to the animal's whole attitude to life. On the other hand, if the eyes are drawn too far forward, Elsie assumes a calflike look. This, too, is out. A calf does not provide milk. The animal must be mature. Yet graceful. Elsie does not clomp around the house. Borden executives decree that the cow shall have "graceful, feminine hands and arms," that her ankles shall be "slim" and her feet "smallish." And Elsie's snout must be flatteringly small; otherwise she looks like a sow.

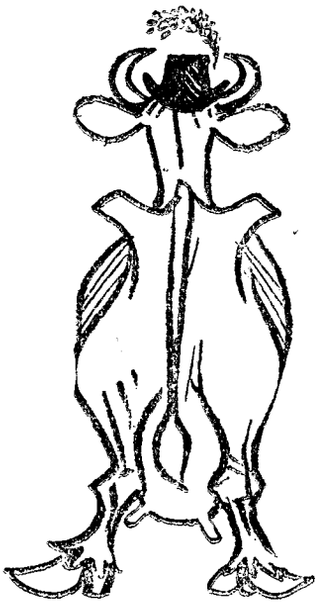
Our Creative People Felt . . .

SIMILAR orders are in force for Elmer, her husband, who acts as a sort of straight man—a foil to Elsie's epigrams—and Beulah, the daughter. The personality of Elsie the cow-human is also very carefully kept in check. Borden's advertising department has issued a confidential bulletin on this for the guidance of its various units. Among other things, the bulletin lays down these points:

> . . . We felt that unless we made up our minds as to just what sort of a character she was she might get out of control. . . . We spent many hours with our creative people and with the agency determining what manner of person Elsie was. . . .
>
> Elsie is one of the strongest personalities in public life. . . . She combines the role of mother and career woman. In the latter respect she is not necessarily the Helen Hokinson type of clubwoman, or the small-town housewife. . . . While her home and her mother role is her first love, she is a delightful kind of gadabout, frequently on the move.
>
> Elsie never evidences a touch of phony sophistication. . . . Is an exponent of the cracker-barrel school of simple, human philosophy. She is "dumb" only in one respect. She is single-track-minded . . . about Borden. . . .
>
> She is at all times too capable to be reduced to the feminine device of tears. . . . She is playful and likes her little joke, but her jokes are more apologetic puns than flip wisecracks. . . . She is never slangy, never common or vulgar. Her only remarks which approach slang are those with a certain prim, Victorian feeling. . . .

Presumably it was in deference to this prim, Victorian feeling that Borden public-relations men declined, on the occasion of Elsie's visit to the Dallas Fair, an offer by Gypsy Rose Lee for a publicity tie-up. The dignity of the cow's stature in American folklore could not permit association with a mere strip-tease artist. As one Borden publicity man remarked: "My God, the damn cow's on a par with Mother Goose and Little Jack Horner or even George Washington or Abe Lincoln."

"Say," he said, "that's an idea. George Washington. I'll see how he compares in the next recognition poll."



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United Nations News

Russia Compromises

THE UN, or a large chunk of it, was having a holiday. Half the Secretariat was on vacation. The cafeteria line was noticeably shorter and there were empty tables at every meal. The New York *Times*, unaccustomed to the lull, sent its usual staff of eight to Lake Success one day, got not a line of United Nations news for its trouble. There was dancing in the corridors and a few listless newsmen hung around the bar. In the half-empty delegates' lounge four bunches of mistletoe dangled from four chandeliers. Members of the Atomic Energy Commission, working full-time through the holidays, were the only indefatigable men of peace oblivious to the traditional celebration of peace.

The United Nations had come a long way. At this time last year it had no Secretary-General—Trygve Lie was appointed on February 1, 1946, while the General Assembly was holding its first meetings. The Security Council was barely under way; its important Atomic Energy Commission and its Military Staff Committee had not yet begun work. The permanent Secretariat was a small, harassed group of newcomers. The Trusteeship Council didn't exist. The International Court of Justice had no judges. The Economic and Social Council had not yet met and the specialized agencies, those few that existed, were still geared to war problems and felt themselves outside the loose jurisdiction of the international organization.

Since that time the organization has been put on a working basis. Its progress and its internal disagreements have been duly recorded in the daily press. If the general public has sometimes lost track of events—of just which branch was meeting, for instance, when the delegate from the Lebanon proposed that the world classics be translated—there is small wonder. All the average reader could be expected to remember was that the United Nations was in almost constant session and that everyone had made mistakes, or that only Russia had made mistakes—depending on which paper he read.

It is this last—the position of Russia in the United Nations—that has caused the most excitement, the greatest amount of speculation and the warmest disputes. It is here that public knowledge has bogged down. Has Russia really compromised? Does the Soviet Union believe in the United Nations? What does she want from it?

DURING the UN's first months, there was a strong coalition against the Soviet Union. Repeatedly Russia was defeated. But each time she attempted to defend her minority position, the anti-Russian cries were louder. She continued to fight, refused to give in on minor issues and sometimes on major ones. But she accepted compromises on issues which, if left unsolved, might have destroyed the organization. With increasing frequency, she has compromised. The motives for her original position may be mixed. So may the motive for her compromises. But the end result is that Russia, the great Communist state, has observed democratic procedure in the United Nations. She has abided by majority rule.

Last April Andrei Gromyko walked out of the Security Council chamber because the Council wouldn't postpone discussion of Soviet troops in Iran. But by May, Russia had agreed to withdraw the troops and the subject was closed to the satisfaction of everyone, including Iran. When the question of British troops in Greece was brought up, the Russians, "guided by a . . . desire to ensure unity of action," agreed to leave out of the final resolution any reference to "a threat to the peace."

Later, when the border disputes between Greece and her Balkan neighbors were before the Council, Russia gave evidence of how her compromise technique works. In September she refused to support the creation of an investigating commission to get the facts on Balkan trouble, used her veto to defeat the move. In December she reversed her position. The commission will leave for the Balkans this month and Russia will be among its members.

This reversal was partly due to changing circumstances, partly to an Assembly resolution on the veto question. The Russians had not wanted the veto discussed in the Assembly, but when opinion rallied against them they gave in without much of a fight. They voted against the final resolution urging unanimity in Security Council voting, but they haven't used the veto since.

On two subjects of major importance—Spain and reduction of armaments—Russia has made vital and unexpected concessions. She had always maintained that the only way to get rid of Franco was to apply diplomatic and economic sanctions against Spain. When it became clear that a majority of the General Assembly delegates were not prepared to go that far, Russia supported a compromise Belgian resolution to recall ambassadors from Madrid and hand the question back to the Security Council should Franco fail to leave within a reasonable period of time.

Russia fought long and hard for a troop census leading up to armament reduction. She didn't much like the watered-down resolution the Assembly finally passed, but this did not deter her from sticking to her other disarmament compromises. Russia first agreed that inspection and control of major war weapons were necessary, then said she was willing to have the Security Council set up control and inspection commissions which would work on a day-to-day basis without using the veto. Finally, in the Atomic Energy Commission, Russia abstained from voting against the Baruch proposal to outlaw the veto entirely in punishing atomic violators.

ON THE basis of this record, Russia's position in the UN is clear. She believes in the organization and is not prepared to create a major split on any issue which might destroy the entire body. She wants security and she wants friends—for voting purposes, for loans and for favorable trade conditions. By conceding on major issues, she is apt to win both—certainly she won new friends during the Assembly.

JANE BEDELL

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Labor

Portal-to-Portal

THE TIDE of portal-to-portal suits, piling up to well above a billion dollars in claims by year's end, brought the usual rash of warnings that unions were "alienating public sympathy" by their demands. The United Steelworkers, United Electrical Workers, United Automobile Workers and other CIO unions seemed unimpressed, despite the assembly of a hostile 80th Congress panting to carry out what most members considered their electoral "mandate" to get tough with the workingman.

A few facts, separated from the chaff of prejudice and opinion, would seem useful in considering the "portal" lawsuits.

1. The term "portal pay" is a misnomer. The Supreme Court did not say, in its now-famous Mount Clemens Pottery Company decision, that every worker must be paid by his employer for every second of time spent between the instant he enters the company "portal" and the moment he leaves. It did say that when workers have performed substantial, necessary and required services, for which they have not previously been paid, the Fair Labor Standards Act entitles them to compensation and penalties.

2. The compensation and penalties in each case, if any, would depend on accurate findings of fact by US district courts. In the Mount Clemens case the union offered evidence of vigorous disputes over work done by employees in sharpening tools, setting up machines and otherwise preparing for production. This "non-productive" work, the Supreme Court said, was "necessarily required" of workers by the company and was for the company's benefit. The employees had a just claim to back pay. But after establishing these principles, the high court sent the case to district court again for a determination, on the facts, of the exact amount due workers.

3. The amount other unions can obtain for their members, in the lawsuits now billowing over the country, is dubious. The Supreme Court specifically stated that, "when the matter in issue concerns only a few seconds or minutes of work beyond scheduled working hours," claims would not be allowed.

4. The shocked surprise of sued corporations, in regard to "portal" pay, is not altogether justified. The Supreme Court in two previous decisions—the Tennessee Iron and the Jewell Ridge Coal Company cases—had upheld the principle that workers must be compensated, under the Fair Labor Standards Act, for substantial time necessarily spent for the employer's benefit.

5. Though CIO strategy at present is simply to file lawsuits, the suits are closely related to the unions' demands for wage increases to meet soaring living costs. A worker's rights under the wage-hour law cannot be bargained away from him, but a practical formula can be sought to compromise just claims if employers are willing to bargain.

6. It is a safe bet that no great corporation will be destroyed by "portal" claims. There are too many ways to balance increased labor costs against taxes; if necessary, Congress could liberalize the revenue laws to meet the situation.

CONGRESSIONAL reaction to the "portal" suits has been characteristic. Representative Gwynne (R, Iowa) announced his intention of reintroducing a bill to set up a one-year statute of limitations and to free employers of any back-pay liability it they had acted in good faith on administrative interpretations of law later altered by the courts. Representative Hoffman (R, Mich.) said he would introduce a measure to eliminate pay for "non-productive work." Representative Knutson (R, Minn.) thought it would be nice to tax away as a "windfall" anything workers won in "portal" court actions.

Almost at the same time, Ralph Robey, economist for the National Association of Manufacturers, was having a rough time with reporters in a press conference carrying an NAM "answer" to the Robert Nathan survey.

Robey made the mistake of saying that Nathan had been paid $12,000 by the CIO for his survey. He declined to state exactly how much the NAM had paid him for the "answer," though he said it was less than $12,000. He stated that the "break-even" point of a typical city family was $44.23 a week, whereas average factory wages were $45.83 a week last October. Some of the reporters wondered how, after paying taxes, the "typical" worker could avoid going into debt.

DESPITE the "portal" suits, some Republican leaders were worried, as Congress met, about the danger that extreme anti-union legislation would bring a violent anti-GOP labor reaction in the 1948 election. Typical was the new attitude they showed toward the hot controversy about unionization of foremen.

The Case bill, which President Truman vetoed last session, would have entirely eliminated supervisory employees from the protection of the Wagner Act. The National Labor Relations Board ruled in 1945 that foremen were protected in joining "independent" unions and then, last week, in joining unions affiliated with the AFL or the CIO. Republican spokesmen, planning to pass the Case bill again, decided that maybe they ought to modify its section about foremen so as to permit at least the "independent" unions.

A law favoring "independent" unions of foremen, as against unions affiliated with the AFL and the CIO, would not settle the issue. It would simply force foremen who joined either one to go on strike to gain bargaining rights, instead of seeking these rights through the peaceful machinery of the Wagner Act. Still, it was interesting that the Republicans were suddenly seized with a desire to be "moderate" about foremen's unions. This desire was matched on the Democratic side, it was authoritatively reported, by an equally sudden White House realization that, when union members don't vote Democratic, the party's Northern candidates get licked.

WILLARD SHELTON

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Farm

Protect the Farm Co-ops

THE CAMPAIGN to tax the so-called income of farm coöperatives is starting again. Bills will be introduced in the Maryland and Kansas legislatures to crack down on coöps by revising income-tax laws and Congress will be flooded by tons of propaganda.

The calculated impression that a sinister influence is protecting coöps has scared the daylights out of Congress. Here is a sample, from a printed card which was mailed in large quantities to Senators and Representatives. The cartoon printed below appeared on the reverse side:

LET'S TALK POLITICS, MR. CONGRESSMAN:

It is frequently stated that the coöperative corporations, mutuals and government enterprises escape paying income taxes because of political pressure, and that you and other members of Congress do not dare tax them. . . .

Please study the drawing on the opposite side of this card. Do you believe it fair for these competitors to escape the payment of federal income taxes?

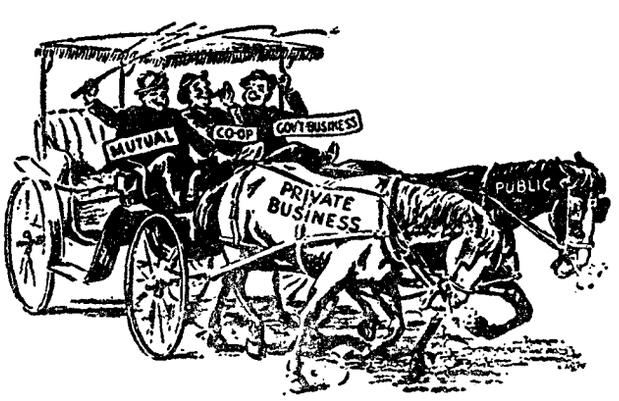
This campaign to revise tax laws at the expense of farm coöperatives has been going on since 1943, when the National Tax Equality Association was organized by Ben C. McCabe in Chicago. The propaganda of this so-called tax-equality outfit attracted so much attention in 1945 that the House Committee on Small Business investigated the situation which led state and federal governments to exempt certain kinds of nonprofit organizations from income-tax laws. This particular campaign acted as a boomerang; the committee unanimously decided in favor of farm coöps and recommended that no important changes be made in the existing law.

Last fall a similar campaign was initiated, but although the NTEA claimed that the coöps were going to be investigated by Congress, the whole thing fizzled. The latest move is an article in the New York *Times* of December 15, in which the writer says:

"It is generally agreed that the federal income-tax law and regulations which permit tax exemptions of coöperatives engaged in a variety of activities should be amended so as to remove the present inequalities of taxation between coöperative corporations and ordinary corporations."

Such statements give the impression that money the farmers save by forming a coöperative goes untaxed, but the contrary is true. So-called income from farm coöps is called patronage dividends, or refunds, and every nickel of such money shows up in the individual member's income-tax report. Even capital stock and reserves show up in this way. As a rule, the coöperative corporation has little or no income. It merely acts as an agent for a group of farmers who get together and decide that they want to buy or sell as a group.

There are many different kinds of coöperatives, but the principle under which they operate is the same. Take, for example, the commission type of marketing coöperative. The proceeds of each sale are promptly distributed to the member whose product is sold. The coöp expenses are covered by a commission charge. At the end of the year, the money left over after expenses is paid to the patrons in the form of a patronage refund. Some regard this as income to the coöperative, but actually a patronage refund or dividend is money belonging to the patron and is not income of the coöp.



WHY DO THESE COMPETITORS GET A FREE RIDE?
(Reprinted from the postcard cited above.)

Under the federal income-tax law the US internal-revenue code sets up certain standards for tax exemptions, and whenever a corporation (coöperative or private enterprise) receives money which it must refund to its patrons, it may claim exemption on such money. The only exemption in the federal income-tax law which favors coöps is that section which exempts dividends, but since this amounts to only about $10 million annually, the tax on it wouldn't be a drop in the bucket compared to the enormous favors which private industry gets from the government.

Of course McCabe doesn't charge that such a piddling amount of tax-free income is strangling poor old private enterprise. What he is after is the patronage dividends, which are quite sizable. The total goods coöperatively bought and sold by farmers amount to about $5 billion a year, of which more than $4 billion includes produce.

EVERY corporation has its own sales and buying department, yet no one thinks of separating these departments for taxation purposes. There is no more reason for making a coöp—which is a buying agent for a group of farmers—pay income taxes than for making the buying agent of any business pay separate taxes.

Under our present laws private corporations, far from staggering along sorely oppressed by competition from farm coöps, are making the most fabulous profits in history. The latest report from the Commerce Department shows that cash dividends totaling nearly one billion dollars were reported by corporations for the last three months. This was a 12.6-percent increase over 1945.

If you should get one of these printed cards suggesting that you mail it in, throw it in the wastebasket. And if some reactionary legislator introduces a law to crack down on farm coöps, write and tell him that you'll crack down on him in the next election.

ANGUS McDONALD

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Music

Roving Commission

THIS first appearance in the *New Republic* of a column devoted regularly to music—and intermittently to the dance—calls for explanation, since one more column of this sort is not necessarily a cause for rejoicing.

The craft of criticism, often despised by artists and as often misused by critics, is a useful and honorable one when it helps the arts to perpetuate and improve their loftiest and most disinterested achievements. The pressures of commerce and the whims of popular enthusiasm tend—sometimes unintentionally—to drag standards down. Unless instances of this tendency are pointed out, and unless examples of high achievement are repeatedly held up for appreciation, there is no reliable check upon the deterioration of the arts.

Today, as never before in its history, American music and dance in all their phases are charged with vitality and threatened with corruption. It is the aim of this column to bring to notice the people and institutions whose energy is most usefully channeled, to analyze the reasons for the special distinction of performers and works whose excellence is preëminent, and to expose harmful motives and activities.

This will be in effect a sort of roving commission, under which I shall go in search of news of people, compositions and enterprises that are really worth thinking about. No magazine can compete with the topicality of a daily newspaper, but I intend always to keep this a living column in the sense that the comments in it will originate in important current events and developments. Thus Carnegie Hall recitals by Alexander Brailowsky or Efrem Zimbalist, for instance, will not produce automatic reviews here, and Town Hall recitals by debutants almost never will; yet it still may be fruitful at one time or another to see just what contributions Brailowsky and Zimbalist have to make, or to look back over some of the surprises and disappointments of debuts.

But beyond the reporting of particular occasions and the evaluation of individual artists and works—and in addition to the frank reviewing of new phonograph records—many broader topics will arise for debate. Do our major performing institutions, such as the Metropolitan Opera, the symphony orchestras and the ballet companies, live up to their public responsibility? Are the policies of our music schools and university music departments pointed toward effective training of genuine leaders in the next generation? Can our national love of big and splashy things be curbed enough to let us enjoy the modest, inexpensive pleasures of chamber music and modern-dance recitals? Will the absurd system under which hundreds of young artists every year spend $1,000 or more on New York recitals solely in the hope of snaring good press notices ever be thwarted? Can our musical life continue to be healthy if the present trend toward centralizing musical enterprise continues? We shall have to ask and try to answer many questions of this kind if we seriously want to participate in the growth of American music and dance.

AFTER five years' absence Leopold Stokowski has returned to conduct the Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra for a month. Despite a less florid manner of presenting himself visually, he has not essentially changed, but his audience has. The mesmeric spell which used to suffuse a Stokowski concert is no longer there. For the first time the audience seems able to gauge by ordinary human measurements the achievements of the onetime demigod.

These achievements, nevertheless, are still remarkable. Though the Philharmonic has played better all season than for a number of years, it glowed with a special luster when Stokowski took it over. He knows how to evoke a tone of singular warmth, roundness and nobility without sacrificing brisk movement and crisp, rhythmic accents. Among conductors in America within my concert-going lifetime, only the late Frederick Stock with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra obtained so majestic a sonority, and only Serge Koussevitzky has consistently maintained such liveliness of rhythm. Stokowski also can find an exquisite balance between solo and accompanying instruments, and he knows how to prepare and resolve a tonal climax so that its development seems utterly natural. Furthermore, he is one of the few conductors who believe that an orchestra should have enough brass to support the extreme brilliance the upper strings and woodwinds exploit nowadays.

But to Stokowski music means little more than these splendid sounds issuing from a disciplined group of players. He works from the orchestra in, not from the music out. Problems of lucidity, of unity and continuity, of the coördination of musical as opposed to purely instrumental matters, do not interest him.

His performance of the first symphony of Brahms in his initial program consisted of little more than a sequence of subtly inflected instrumental effects, with tempi alternately relaxed and hurried so as to let each isolated passage attain its greatest purely sensuous impression. His own transcription of the Bach chorale prelude, "Wir glauben all' an einen Gott," became a musical production number. In the closing scene from Wagner's "Parsifal" intensity of expression was pushed dangerously near to the end of endurance and climax was piled upon climax. Only Sibelius' quietly gloomy "Swan of Tuonela" attained its musical end without elocutionary bombast. The novelty of the occasion, Paul Creston's "Frontiers," suited Stokowski's purposes well, for it is a contrived piece of rhetoric celebrating "the vision, the trek and the achievement" of the American pioneers.

Yet Stokowski's preoccupation with orchestral sound has made him one of our great musical figures. He was the first to command the resilience and responsiveness which have become commonplace in the playing of most of our orchestras today. If other conductors of deeper musical concern now interest us more, we still must honor Stokowski for a lifelong fanaticism that has sustained an ideal of beautiful tone for conductors, players and listeners.

CECIL SMITH

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Movies

Two from Overseas

"Stairway to Heaven," a Universal release of a British movie, has been chosen one of the 10 best pictures of the year. A nice fantasy, it begins with a BBC kind of voice explaining the moving constellations in J. Arthur Rank's Heaven. Pretty soon a substantially round form in the sky turns out to be the Earth—and on this planet a Lancaster bomber is in distress. Since this is an English movie, "distress" may be an understatement. A very large plane is on fire; the undercarriage and the tail assembly are gone; the only remaining member of the crew, the radio operator, is dead—and the pilot, who is shot in the temple, has a parachute full of bullet holes. He is in touch with a radio station tended at night by a pretty Wac and is entranced in his dying moments by the pity and the American accent of his last comrade in this sweet world. He quotes some poetry, not identifiable to me, says he loves her as he would his life and bids her be of good cheer. The girl tells him her name is June and that she will shortly be bicycling home. At this point, Peter Carter's plane crashes into the sea.

The radioman, Sparks, then arrives in Heaven, presented as a sort of a separation center roughly resembling an efficiency expert's idea of The Marble Halls. At the moment we look in, the Chief Recorder, a stern lady on a throne of astonishing proportions, is demanding of Conductor 71—the one responsible for getting Peter Carter Up There—an explanation of his failure to complete the mission. The Conductor, rather lamely admits that he missed his quarry in a fog, and he is commanded to return to Earth and clear up this bothersome mishap.

Meanwhile, in this world of ours, Peter has come upon June on her bike. They love each other. They are happily lying in a glade, when to Peter appears the Conductor. From here on, "Stairway to Heaven" really gets interesting.

There are sequences in it that are a delight to remember. The life depicted in the village: teatime in the canteen for British and American soldiers; Robert Atkins, as the vicar, doing a scene from Shakespeare; the doctor's house where the principals live; the mature, often witty, dialogue Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger have devised—these are worth your attention. The life part is in black and white. This makes it very tidy.

"Stairway to Heaven" is reminiscent of—but differs greatly from—our own "Here Comes Mr. Jordan." In "Mr. Jordan" the boy was really dead, but his soul was allowed to come back to Earth. In "Stairway to Heaven" the poetic pilot has the formidable hallucination that he *should* be dead, and he and his friends fight to refute the imaginary celestial verdict. How this is accomplished, you should see. And should the medical part of it seem incredible, let me say that what would seem the most contrived episode in this picture may be the only one based on fact. According to my sources, the operation performed in "Stairway to Heaven"—called pre-frontal lobotomy—was perfected in 1935 and has been performed successfully in this country some 200 times. Roger Livesey, of Colonel Blimp fame, enacts the ping-pong-playing doctor; David Niven plays Peter with charm and terrible pains in his head; and the American girl is Kim Hunter. If the big, super-spectacular scenes tend to be dull, the little ones are wonderful.

ACCORDING to the New York *Times's* idea of the best pictures of the year, Hollywood should be ashamed, and I can offer the home Industry but one consolation — "The Wicked Lady." This is a Gainsborough film, also made in England. It is hard to believe that several people, presumed to be conscious of both art and commerce, can have made such a wretched hash from a yarn that might easily have been adventurous and exciting. A beautiful, evil, lady highway robber—who has to bat around the night roads with her masculine counterpart (played by James Mason) because her husband, relatives, friends and retainers appear to her monumentally stupid—is almost enough material for anybody.

Leslie Arliss (George Arliss' nephew), who directed "The Wicked Lady," from the novel *The Life and Death of the Wicked Lady Skelton*, has just one interesting scene—a hanging. It is startling to realize again that to late-seventeenth-century passers-by a hanging was a very gay affair. Everybody ate and drank and, laughing a good deal, bought small souvenir scaffolds, presumably to take home to the kids, bedridden with the plague. The beautiful English countryside is still looking very well and the customs—the dances, the tenants' baptismal party and the elaborate *moyen-âge* costumes—I liked. The only advice I can give on "The Wicked Lady" is to try to duck some of the dialogue bandied about in it. Here is an example that curls my hair. The Lady says it. She is played by Margaret Lockwood, who has had better assignments. In this picture, she is required to play a character who supposedly can wind anyone around her person. Her person, because she pretends to be living in an age not as prudish as ours, is boldly revealed and very attractive. In one crisis, pleading with a gentleman, she tells him that she knows he will be as kind to her as he would be to a bird or a horse's mouth.

IN THE middle of January, there will be released in New York an extraordinary historical document on our latest world war. I have seen a preview of it, and I intend to see it several times more. It was made in 1938 in and around Teruel in Spain by the French novelist and soldier, André Malraux. It is called "Man's Hope" and it is inspiring—a heroic and heartbreaking motion picture. According to present plans, no very wide distribution will be given this film, which should be a cause for indignation. "Man's Hope" will be reviewed here next week.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

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Books

Decline of the West

WHEN an American declares this or that European country "finished," he is thinking wishfully. The amazing thing about Europe today is that so much has survived, so much fresh energy and intelligence has already shown itself. It was by no accident that Paris, submerged for five years, as soon as the war ended, at once and with éclat assumed again the cultural leadership of the West. It was also no accident that the chief of the new literary movements —Existentialism—had its roots in the most battered, detested and "finished" of all countries—Germany, in the philosophies of Jaspers and Heidegger.

Even today, Germany, the classic *Land der Mitte*, retains its special and central place in our thinking (not to mention our politics). Stephen Spender, for instance, may *prefer* France. Germany is something more, something more ambiguous, than a predilection: it is a fascination. It repels Spender, as France does not. But it engages more of his attention and of his personality.

It always has. Though the lost generation enjoyed its perdition in Paris, the younger group to which Spender belonged—Auden and Isherwood also come to mind—felt from the first the peculiar lure of Germany. It was not that they simply reveled in the famous cultural freedoms and audacities of the Weimar Republic. From the first they saw, and, in a sense, were drawn to, the darker side. Isherwood's *Berlin Stories* derive their interest from this fact. So does Spender's *European Witness* (Reynal and Hitchcock, $3). Isherwood's stories record the prologue to the Nazi drama. Spender's travel book records the epilogue—the result of a trip to Germany in 1945, undertaken for the British government, to examine the German literary scene "with a particular view to discovering any surviving talent in German literature." The play itself is too large for any stage or, perhaps, any playwright.

European Witness will be of little help to those who believe that there is such a thing as a "German character," even though Spender sometimes seems to be one of them. The portraits Spender paints, the interviews and incidents he records, are all of interest. But they are entirely inconclusive: a German recording casual encounters in England or America might write something equally depressing. Admittedly, the particular brand of hokum which Spender found —chiefly the hokum of "non-Nazi" anti-humanism, Spenglerism and the like—is German, at least in its phraseology. But in the end Spender agrees (I assume) with one of his French interlocutors that there is no German problem really, only a European problem. One might add that in a sense there is no European problem, only a human problem. Spender acknowledges this in a despondent moment:

> But the disease is not in our surroundings, it is in ourselves, the doctors, and thus we do not use the remedies which exist in our surroundings. . . . Politics . . . is a perpetual application of half remedies to disasters which have been foreseen and which might well have been avoided. Meanwhile new disasters are visible on the horizon and everyone realizes what should be done to avoid them but the necessary unity of purpose to avoid them can only be achieved when it is too late.

GERMANY presents no essentially different problems from those of the rest of the world. Her singular importance lies in the fact that she presents the same problems, only, to put it vulgarly, more so. In her history the awful story of modern life is written in unusually bold letters. Her history is reflected in her culture. Germany has given us our most uncompromising thinkers of Left and Right: Marx and Treitschke, Freud and Nietzsche. And German history is not over. The very stones of the German ruins, Spender found, are beginning to talk. What they say, even if it is chiefly nihilism, as Spender suggests, is going to be very significant.

The last prose-work of Spender's that I read was *Forward from Liberalism* (1937). His new book will be regarded as a turnabout by partisans of his old, near-Communist position and by partisans of his new, neo-liberal one. Actually it is quite possible to see sincerity, intelligence and even a rough consistency in the whole development. What change there is can to a great extent be justified by the change in the world situation.

Spender still finds the great political heresy of modern civilization to be *laissez-faire* liberalism, which removes society from the sphere of morals. The Nazis, he hopes, did us a service:

> They did succeed in being something which the laissez-faire age never responsibly was: that is to say, really wicked. They made social and political activity significant moral, or rather immoral, activity, and they renounced the irresponsible, amoral automatism of the progressive industrial era.

But this service was performed very late. The threat of the end of the world, previously a dramatic device, is now real: "The secret weapons of Hitler and the atomic bomb of the Allies were the first warning of this phase against which there is no protection." Spender calls for responsible, deliberately moral action before it is too late.

There is of course little in all this that such an old and "old-fashioned" socialist as Shaw has not been saying for years. The remarkable thing is not that Spender has learned it all, but that his teacher was Germany or, perhaps, the whole shambles of Central and Eastern Europe. A Pole said to him:

> We feel that something has happened during the past five years which we in the East cannot escape from, because it has become our whole environment. . . . Then we come to the West and we see that you are pretending that you are still living in 1939. Everywhere we see an inflation of unreal ideas.

By "the West," the Pole meant Paris! Those who live even farther west should ponder his words. ERIC BENTLEY

Eric Bentley, assistant professor of English at the University of Minnesota and an advisory editor of Kenyon Review, *is the author of a new book,* The Playwright as Thinker, *published by Reynal and Hitchcock.*

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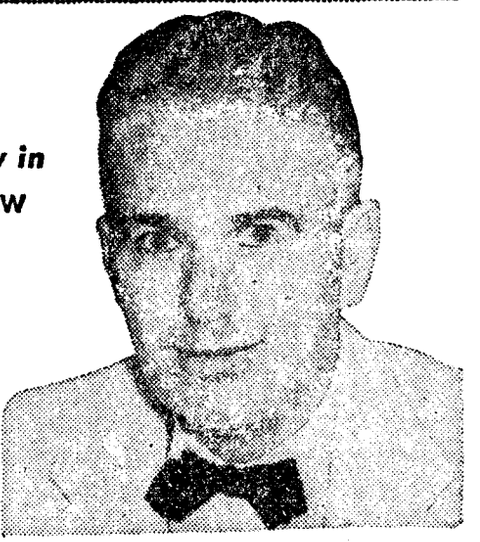
Grim Warning

FRITZ STERNBERG, a distinguished authority on the economics of war, came from his native Germany first to England and then to the United States. He made it his business to warn the Western world of Hitler's intentions, of the nature of the Nazi war economy and of the preparations we should have to make if we were to defeat it. When this country was still fumbling with half-hearted "defense" measures, he told us in detail what total mobilization would require. In 1926 he had, in Germany, predicted the economic crisis and the resulting war. In 1932 he had predicted the supremacy of Nazism. In 1938 he had predicted the blitzkrieg and Hitler's eventual defeat in view of the industrialization of Russia. And early in 1941 he had pointed out that America could make victory sure.

Now Sternberg in *The Coming Crisis* (John Day, $3.50) again looks into the future and discusses the economic crisis which is generally feared in the United States. His point of view is that of a Marxist, though he is a sufficiently keen analyst of figures and historical facts to point out mistakes in the calculations of Marx and Lenin. His conclusion is that Western capitalism is now in a declining stage, that another severe depression in the United States is likely, and that this would lead to aggressive militarism and another world war unless the American economy can be socialized.

THE main lines of the argument are clear. Depressions are not abnormal, but are characteristic of capitalist economy. So far, non-socialist students of the subject agree. In the past, every depression has been followed by revival, and the long-term trend of production and real wages has been upward. Marx was mistaken in expecting the contrary. But after the depression of the 1930's, production never exceeded the peak of 1929, until the stimulation of war economy took over. When the war economy is liquidated, the capitalist world will still have to contend with the depressive forces of the thirties. This crisis will not come for several years, though in the meantime there may be a short deflation



In a feature review in
THE SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE

SUMNER WELLES says:

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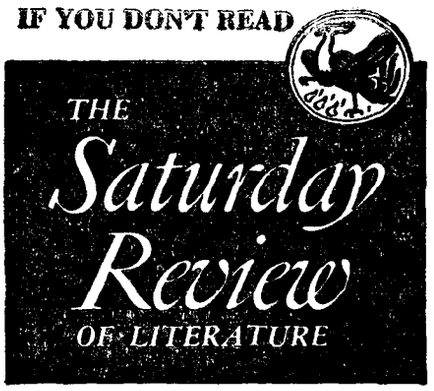

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of prices. It will be precipitated when the unsatisfied demand for durable goods is filled, and the excess purchasing power built up by war financing has vanished.

Until recent years, the steady expansion of capitalist production has saved the order from the recurrent depressions which assailed it. This expansion was made possible by the exploitation of "backward" regions and peoples, and by raising the levels of living of the populations of the chief industrial nations themselves. But Sternberg advances reasons why both processes are likely to be insufficient in the future. The facilities for the production of steel, machinery and other capital goods are now so tremendous that the industrialization of outlying regions may not be sufficient to absorb their product, especially when political and financial obstacles are considered. And concentration of industrial control within the capitalist economy has proceeded to such lengths that production for internal consumption is likely to be restricted far below the level necessary for continued expansion of the system.

Sternberg casts a coldly critical eye at the Keynesian proposals for stabilizing the economy or assuring "full employment." Mere deficit spending, he asserts, will not work at a time when capitalism is undergoing a major crisis. It would have to be supplemented by measures of state ownership or control which would be tantamount to socialism. Upholders of private enterprise, he thinks, are shrewdly serving their own interests in opposing full employment, since capitalism cannot work without a reserve of unemployed.

THE political struggle over the power to direct production cannot be avoided by the use of new words. Rather than submit gracefully to a loss of power, he believes the big industrialists and financiers would choose to rescue the economy by heavy armament and a war psychology. The only possible alternative to such a catastrophe, he advises, is a progressive political movement that would not be frightened by the degree of socialization necessary to make full employment real, and a campaign for world peace and disarmament.

I do not think Sternberg has proved his case, though it is backed by authoritative figures, skillfully interpreted. Social science has not yet advanced to the stage of reliable prediction. Prophecy must still rest on intuition, but the author has demonstrated in the past that his hunches are extraordinarily good. Few would be foolhardy enough to assert that the outline of the future he presents is not one of the possibilities. If it is not to be realized, suitable policies must be adopted to avoid it. Whatever the outcome, it cannot be denied that the course of affairs in the United States will determine the course of world history, so dominant is our economy and so great is our military potential.

GEORGE SOULE

The American Home

AS HOME BUILDING, freed from government controls, rushes headlong into "boom-or-bust," our nationwide housing policies are tentative, haphazard and unreasoned. As one spokesman put it, we have a "non-veterans' non-housing program." Into this confused situation, Charles Abrams' *Future of Housing* (Harper and Brothers, $5) has injected not only a bold reappraisal of where we stand in housing but also a forthright program with which to implement our housing goals.

After stating the problem in terms of the background of today's confusion, the by-products of our slums and of unsound home ownership and the importance of housing in the national economy, Abrams breaks down our housing machinery into its component wheels and gears and shows why it fails to function properly. He analyzes the factors discouraging real-estate investment, exposes the persistent fallacies about land, reveals the abuses underlying the mortgage system in its modern dress and enumerates the effects of the tax rate on real estate. He describes the mechanics through which participants of the building operation are "beset by waste, monopoly, coercion, usury, petty graft, disorganization, excessive charges and consumer indifference. One by one he examines the inability of philanthropic housing, company housing, limited-dividend housing, inves

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ment housing and coöperative housing to solve the problem to date. He not only affirms that private enterprise cannot solve the housing dilemma of low-income families but argues that it is unlikely to be solved either by increasing real wages or by reducing the cost of decent shelter.

THROUGHOUT this probing of the housing industry at the tender points of its anatomy, fresh and provocative ideas keep the data alive with meaning. It is suggested, for instance, that as real-estate prices and the size of transactions have soared, the little entrepreneur has been kept in business through a liberal expansion of mortgage financing. Hence, the real-estate business remains "America's most proletarian form of capitalist enterprise." And Abrams observes further that as the needed down-payment has been gradually reduced, a passive but potential ownership has developed in the hands of the mortgage lenders, with a "more tenuous tenure" reserved for the owners. Thus, it makes good sense to view real-estate ownership, like stock ownership, as two interests—a preferred interest, or mortgage, and a common interest, or equity.

Or again, he points out that although the main motives of the home builder—maximum profit, minimum outlay, maximum mortgage and maximum renting or selling appeal—operate in such a way as to nullify sound planning, the private home builder is merely the victim and scapegoat of the system that has grown up around him; he does his job as well as can be expected and it is a wonder he can do it at all. Although favored by an abundance of land, raw materials, productive equipment and manpower, our home-building industry has serious defects which are wholly or partly responsible for petty developments, shoddy city planning, poor construction, inadequate repairs, recurring housing shortages and the slum problem.

In the substantial portion of the book devoted to a discussion of the genesis and functioning of government in housing, none of the agencies escapes penetrating scrutiny and, more often than not, the malfunctioning of federal legislation appears in all its nakedness. The

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of the ROCKS

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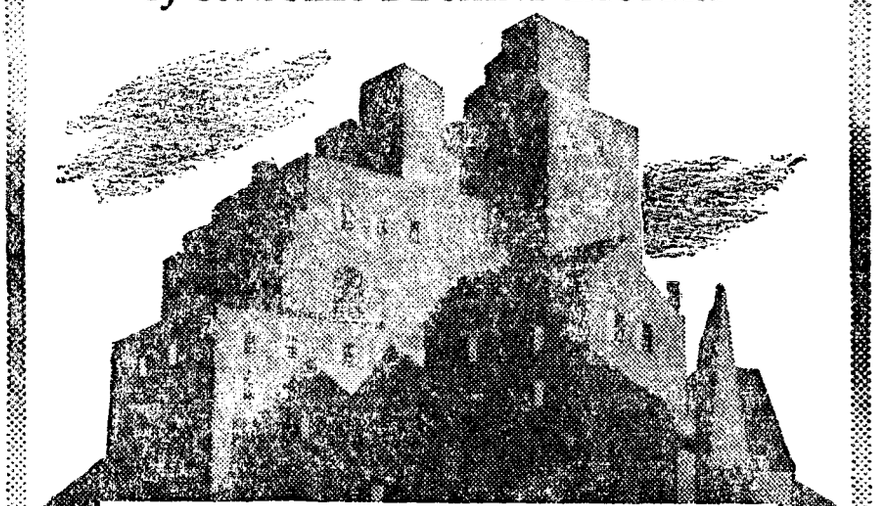

➡ While she waited for word from her husband, Consuelo and some young artist friends sought refuge in a dead and ruined village in the south of France. There they worked together on a dream made of stone . . . to bring life to the village--to raise the ruins, and rebuild them to medieval beauty. "Everywhere she goes Consuelo finds wonderful and poetic people because she, too, carries within herself the wonder and the poetry. Her book contains at once something of autobiography, something of a novel, something of a poem."—*André Maurois.* $2.75

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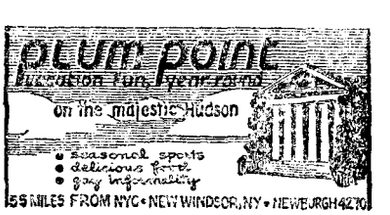
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author is quick to point out the "pressure to divert each government expenditure into avenues of private gain." While recognizing the Federal Housing Administration's accomplishments, he indicts it for insensibility to the security of the home owner, for supporting unconscionable interest rates and for permitting entrepreneurs to take profit without assuming risk. The Home Loan Bank system is reproached for supplying protection for no one but the mortgage lenders. Even public housing, on which the author places much hope for the future, has made mistakes and been forced to operate under requirements that sometimes have retarded the rehousing of families in need.

Sharp critical analysis of this sort often yields a purely destructive and negative result. But in this book it supplies important supporting evidence for the last hundred pages or so, which are devoted to solutions. And what makes this book so different from others that have recently appeared is that these recommendations are not general and vague but unusually detailed and concrete—even to the point of suggesting specific perfecting amendments for existing legislation. The author's program rests on ten aims with which no one will disagree, although specific proposals will undoubtedly be considered controversial. The author suggests that where public initiative can supply better planning and construction and more secure ownership, then public enterprise should build whatever housing is needed. But it should employ private contractors, labor, materials and financing wherever feasible and should divest itself of the ownership of completed properties wherever possible. In this way it can stay within the main traditions of our private-enterprise system. He proposes, too, with some reason, a permanent National Housing Agency administered by a board rather than by a single administrator. These and other recommendations of Abrams will be debated, his conclusions argued with. But none will deny that the author has laid the issues on the line and faced them squarely. And in this time of housing crisis, we have had enough pussy-footing, enough issue-dodging, enough vagueness and ambiguity. We need more of the kind of bold thinking that Abrams' book represents throughout. JOHN P. DEAN

John P. Dean is the author of Home Ownership: Is It Sound? *published last year by Harpers.*

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Civilized Man

IN THE PAGES of a progressive journal, it may be particularly desirable to point out what there is to be prized in a fine, intuitive first novel that has no apparent relation to progress. I am not implying that society is hostile to art, though it is indifferent to the artist; I am reaffirming an opinion of Stephen Spender, who said that if we are to defend civilization we must have a civilization to defend. The value of P. H. Newby's *A Journey to the Interior* (Doubleday, $2.50), a novel enthusiastically received upon its publication in England, is that it so ably projects two self-regenerating principles of civilized man—effective insight and esthetic synthesis. In spite of its occasional clumsiness, its lapses into second-hand literary effects (for which the title should prepare you) and its failure of modulation, this prose is beautiful, cadenced, luminous and true. It infuses one's mind like the vague afterhaze of the fever from which the recently widowed hero, Winter, is recovering as he comes to a small oil-company colony in an Arabian seaport.

Winter is haunted by his dead wife. He is emotionally numb until he goes into the desert to puzzle out the disappearance of Rider, who dominates the book by his absence and functions for Winter as one of those "lenses through which we read our own minds." What makes this psychological development and Newby's insights into love and grief so satisfactory is the way they underride and are pointed up by the story itself—that which, E. M. Forster says, urges us to ask: "And then?"—to give the novel its cohesion. The full impact of Winter's experience, in the desert of the sorrow that sets him free is delayed until that scene at the novel's end, or its beginning, wherein his mis

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tress, Nellie Leader, says: "But we never know about ourselves. That's the last person we know anything about."

A Journey to the Interior is created so that the creation itself is a communicable experience, giving the novel a fictive quality that brings it to the threshold of myth. Tentatively, I would place it near the early novels of Virginia Woolf and the lesser novels of E. M. Forster. If I praise it too highly, let this be, then, not a true measure of the book but of what there is in literature to be loved.

JOHN H. PORTER

John H. Porter is a free-lance writer who lives in New York City.

Theatre

Timely Light

"PREFACES TO SHAKESPEARE," by the late Harley Granville-Barker (Princeton University Press, $5), is the first volume of an American series of these famous studies. They have appeared at various times in England and have been variously available, but have now been brought together, rewritten in parts and some changes of importance made. This volume includes the "Hamlet," an essay of some 225 pages, plus the "King Lear," "The Merchant of Venice," "Anthony and Cleopatra" and "Cymbeline."

Among Shakespeare commentaries, these Granville-Barker prefaces have a special place. It depends on your point of view as to which of their aspects comes first. The familiar approach, that of universities and edited editions of the plays, would, of course, be scholarship. But there is also the practising dramatist; there is the director; there is the master of stagecraft; there is the master of the theatre building itself as a medium. We could find few other scholars indeed—if any—who know the text of Shakespeare plays and the vast problems of both the text and the traditions as Granville-Barker did. When he writes as dramatist about Shakespeare the dramatist, he speaks as the author of such stage successes as "Madras House" and "The Voysey Inheritance." When he writes of acting, he writes as an actor. And he is very much in his province when he comments on Shakespeare from that side of a drama that involves directing and its special insights into a drama.

Finally we may say that when, in 1904, Granville-Barker, along with J. E. Vedrenne, went into theatrical management, the results were—as a whole, that is—the most notable in the English theatre of our time. Their revivals of Shakespeare, Ibsen and Euripides, and the productions of rising dramatists like Shaw and Galsworthy, resound to this day. To bring all that knowledge, theatre experience, creative faculty to the comment on a Shakespeare play means that you bring to its uses sound sense, rightness, shine, forward-moving methods. It is hard to convey the immense content and implications of these essays as both scholarship and working manuals.

That is not to say, however, that this book on Shakespeare is easy traveling. On one side it is in the tradition of the illustrious or professional or hair-splitting—as the case may be—commentators whose endless discussions, analyses and postulations you find in, for example, the great Variorum Shakespeare—men like Coleridge, Dr. Johnson, Hazlitt, Schlegel and many others often less important. And on this side Granville-Barker's interest and even his style are often specialized and complex beyond the patience of most readers. Only the most particular and exhaustive concern would want to follow him through a good number of these pages.

But it is all another matter when we come to his handling of a play of Shakespeare's. Then we see him opening it out to the full flower of its meaning. And we see him showing the technical body of it as precisely, as inevitably, as simply as a great anatomist might denote the muscles and skeleton. The humility and splendor of such an approach to a play or to a role are a lesson and an inspiration to any artist in the theatre.

STARK YOUNG

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Correspondence

UN Site Scandal

SIR: In choosing a site, the UN had an opportunity rarely given to planners—to start from scratch. Its home should be the best we can do in providing ideal living and working conditions.

Now what do we have? It is hard to imagine a worse site than the UN home in New York City. An organization whose ultimate size no one can predict has been placed in the center of one of the most congested areas on earth. It has been given a pitiful 18 acres, whereas the UN Site Inspection Committee originally contemplated 50 square miles! Expansion is out of the question. Already the embryo organization has been strait-jacketed by the hard shell of the real-estate speculators. Do not Webb and Knapp own most of the adjacent property? Humane standards of living and working for UN personnel, which could have been a beacon to the world, have been sacrificed for the flat in Astoria, the subway and the beehive skyscraper. A dirty river and dirtier factories provide uplift for the spirit. If this site can be justified for a world capital, then all the planning theory of the past half-century —theory that has more and more stressed humane scale, sunshine and open space, tranquillity and ease, dignity and beauty —must be scrapped.

I read the *New Republic* for its generally progressive viewpoint on economic and social issues. I believe you owe your readers an investigation of the manner in which the UN came to select this site. In addition, you need to dispel the superficial and unthinking judgment that is common on this question with a revealing portrayal of the chance that has been lost.

Waverley, Mass. MARK FORTUNE

The World Do Move

SIR: Riding on trains through North and South Carolina lately, I found that, although there are still "Jim Crow" cars, Negroes are now permitted to travel in Pullman sleeping cars and to eat in the dining cars. So it seems that some progress is being made toward ending intolerance and in the direction of common sense and decency.

Biloxi, Miss. MARC T. GREEN

Subsidize Rental Housing!

SIR: I am sending herewith my thoughts on subsidized rental housing for the lower-income groups. This program is predicated upon the retention of rental ceilings until such time as supply comes into reasonable balance with demand. . . .

There is one bracket of rental housing which private enterprise cannot supply. It is the 25 percent of our people in the lower-income levels who can afford $40, or less, per month as rental. In this group will be found most of our veterans of World War II. To supply this housing constitutes the nation's number-one emergency, and it can be supplied only through partial government subsidy. Those of us in private enterprise who toil to defeat such housing should be ashamed of ourselves, but many of us ridicule partial subsidy because, we say, it endangers the private-enterprise system. This is not the case. . . .

Government can, with full public approval, subsidize a post office, a water works or an electric-power dam that wholly or partially returns the investment. It can totally subsidize a battleship, a tank or a bomber that becomes an immediate total loss, and the taxpayer will okay the procedure as one in the public interest. Private enterprise does the construction, while government supplies all, or part, of the financing needed and the controls necessary to complete the job in keeping with the emergency. Government can likewise, in the public interest, subsidize the difference in cost between a rental of $40 per month and the cost of adequate housing, and make an investment in good citizenship and preserving the American way—not an investment dedicated to total destruction. The alternative is more slums, with their breeding beds of crime, disease and municipal insolvency. Slums must have police, health, sanitation and other state and municipal services. But slums, by themselves, cannot provide these services because slums cannot pay sufficient taxes to supply such services. Slums, therefore, are municipal liabilities, and exist through subsidy supplied by other property more able to pay taxes. Why not convert a community liability into a community asset? . . .

Chicago, Ill. J. FRANK LINDSEY

Bandwagon

The Accolade

"There seems to be a difference between what they call Communists over there and the Moscow brand of Reds we are used to in the States," he [Senator Wherry] remarked. "Why, in England, which is supposed to have a Socialist Labor Government, I found men in that government whose ideas were as sound as those of anybody in our own Republican Party." – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Brave New World

Eventually, synthetic penicillin may be cheap enough to treat the poorest patient. – *From* Time.

Hunky-Dory

What we are seeing these days is, in fact, the exact opposite of what happens in an inflation. In an inflation, people lose confidence in the value of money and higher prices do not bring out larger supplies. People in an inflation hoard goods and, as fast as they can, exchange their money for things. Nothing like that is happening now. As soon as the price of livestock was permitted to rise a little, the farmers were glad to send their cattle to market and to bank the money received. As long as that happens, there is no inflation and no immediate threat of one. – *From an editorial in the Chicago* Tribune.

Green Light

An exception [to the Royal Marriages Act] is made for members of the royal family who are 25 or older. They may marry without consent, provided they give the privy council a year's notice and Parliament during that year does not disapprove of the marriage. – *AP dispatch from London.*

Why, the Old Show-Off!

The bride was given in marriage by her father, lovely in her wedding dress of white chiffon over white taffeta. – *From the De Kalb (Illinois) Daily Chronicle.*

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(*Continued from page 3*)
ternal counter-revolution and against the intervention of 14 foreign states, including the US, Great Britain and France. . . . In the two decades that followed, the Soviet Union conducted a fierce battle against hostility, slander, intrigue and every possible kind of pressure brought to bear by the capitalist world. Last, the USSR had to make countless sacrifices—human and material—to save itself from the slavery and death which the German invasion threatened. . . .

In the USA and Great Britain, however, there are hundreds of "respected" politicians and journalists who maintain that Russian references to security are only camouflage and that the real aim of the Soviet Union is world domination. . . .

When one hears all these lamentations one wants to repeat: What nonsense! Let's just take a look at the facts:

1. The Soviet Union possesses a huge territory with all kinds of natural resources available in that territory; its rapidly growing population of almost 200 million constitutes an ever expanding internal market for the output of Soviet industry; this population consists of workers, farmers and intellectuals; among them are no classes or groups that have anything to gain from war.

2. Here is the natural conclusion arising out of what has been said: The Soviet Union has existed for almost 30 years and up to the present its policy has always been one of peace and normal relations with all countries irrespective of their domestic policy. This has been the case up to now, and such it will remain for the future. On September 17 Stalin, in answering a question put by an English correspondent (Alexander Werth, the Sunday *Times*) as to whether with the further progress of the Soviet Union toward communism the chances of peaceful coöperation with the outside world would remain undiminished and whether "communism in one country" is possible, said:

"I have no doubt that the possibilities of peaceful coöperation will not only not decrease but may even grow. 'Communism in one country' is perfectly possible, especially in a country like the Soviet Union." . . .

Now let us see how things stand with the other great powers, especially with the US and Great Britain. What is their present position? Again we can only give the Soviet viewpoint:

Friendly coöperation of the five great powers is possible only if each of the five applies the principle of equality of rights in his relations with the others. Nobody must impose his will on the others. They should strive sincerely to reach a friendly agreement which is acceptable to all peace-loving powers and first and foremost to the "Big Five."

In the foreign policy of the US and Britain since Roosevelt's death, and more especially since the end of the war, there has been the very opposite tendency. This policy has been permeated with the idea of creating a privileged Anglo-Saxon bloc which is to play the decisive role in determining international affairs. The power of this bloc is based on its tremendous resources, on the secret of the atomic bomb and on the huge chain of bases stretching around the world. All other nations, including the Soviet Union, must play up to this world master. . . .

If the foreign policy of the United States and Britain is to be controlled by hunters for bases and knights of the atomic bomb, then the unity of the great powers is not to be even thought of; in fact one should not perhaps even think of a durable peace or prolonged security. In such case, the future prospects facing mankind are dismal indeed.

However, if the forces of democracy are able to bring proper influence to bear on the position of the US and Britain in good time, if the warmongers are deprived of the opportunities for continuing their subversive activities, if the will to peace of the American and British peoples finds practical expression that is as effective as that of the Soviet people, then the unity of the great powers—the basic condition necessary for peace and security—will become an accomplished fact and mankind will be able to look the future freely in the face.

I. TAIGIN

Moscow (by cable)

I. Taigin is a prominent Russian journalist and a frequent contributor to the Soviet magazine, New Times.

New Republic News

Clinical Notes

IT'S IRRITATING to receive long, cajoling letters from a magazine to which you already subscribe. We know because we've recently been getting them from the *NR*. Unhappily this redundant salesmanship is one of the unavoidable nuisances of the mail-order technique. You buy a list of the sort of people you think might want to read the *NR* and, by no great coincidence, some of them already do. The more lists you buy, the better you choose them, the more often this will happen. A few unhappy victims will receive not one but a succession of impassioned appeals and will end by penning slanderous letters to the editor, who is undoubtedly himself a sufferer from his circulation department's zeal. The thing to do is to file these unnecessary blandishments in the nearest waste-basket, or, if you have a really Christian spirit, to slip them into the pocket of some benighted friend.

We're using the mails a lot these days—as we are also using newspaper space—and we're creating a subscription snow storm. In the past month and a half, the circulation of the *NR* has precisely doubled. This is a blessing but not an unmixed one. It places a strain all around the shop, from the man who orders paper by the carload lot to the girl who mails copies one by one. A sudden jump in circulation is also apt to create odd dislocations at the newsstands. If you find, therefore, that you can no longer buy the magazine at your usual corner spot send us a note. We'll get on to the American News Company, and before another issue has come around it'll have one of its scouts out to diagnose the situation.

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